

examine and make transcripts of records; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: A bill (H. R. 14943) to donate a captured cannon or gun to the cities of Jerome, Rexburg, Preston, Mountain Home, Gooding, Shoshone, American Falls, Malad, Rigby, and Driggs, in the State of Idaho; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CHARLES B. SMITH: A bill (H. R. 14944) authorizing the Federal Trade Commission to accept and administer for the benefit of the public and the encouragement of industry, inventions, patents, and patent rights, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. PARKER of New York: A bill (H. R. 14946) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate a German captured cannon or fieldpiece to the village of Fort Edward, in the State of New York; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CLARK of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 14947) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Girard, Pa., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BURNETT: A bill (H. R. 14948) to expel and exclude from the United States certain undesirable aliens; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. TIMBERLAKE: A bill (H. R. 14949) to amend an act entitled "An act to amend section 73 of an act entitled 'An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary,' approved June 12, 1916," and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 14950) requiring The Adjutant General of the United States Army and the Secretary of the Navy to furnish certain data to the adjutants general of the several States; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY: A bill (H. R. 14951) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Jerseyville, Ill., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KEY of Ohio: Resolution (H. Res. 513) authorizing the payment of \$1,200 to William McKinley Cobb for extra and expert services rendered to the Committee on Pensions during the second and third sessions of the Sixty-fifth Congress; to the Committee on Accounts.

By Mr. CAMPBELL of Pennsylvania: Resolution (H. Res. 514) calling upon the Secretary of War to furnish the names and all facts pertaining to the military records of conscientious objectors; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ZIHLMAN: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 395) authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to adjust and settle the claims of the Asher Fire Proofing Co., of Washington, D. C., and the A. Schwoerer Construction Co., of New York; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. OVERSTREET: A bill (H. R. 14945) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War and to widows of such soldiers and sailors; to the Committee of the Whole House.

By Mr. CHANDLER of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 14952) granting an increase of pension to John H. McKenzie; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14953) granting a pension to James A. Cox; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 14954) granting a pension to Billy Osborne or Koot-tah-we-Coots-lah-rie-e-Coots; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri: A bill (H. R. 14955) granting a pension to David Gibson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CURRIE of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 14956) granting an increase of pension to Lucinda Wilson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DOOLITTLE: A bill (H. R. 14957) granting an increase of pension to William C. Mitchell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FERRIS: A bill (H. R. 14958) for the relief of W. T. Doorley; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. DALLINGER: Petition of sundry citizens of Massachusetts, urging repeal of postal zone law; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FESS: Petition of the American Field of Honor Association, for selecting a suitable estate in France for creation of American field of honor as final resting place of those who made supreme sacrifice in cause of freedom and humanity; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of sundry citizens of Rockford, Ill., for repeal of postal zone law; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH: Memorial of Central Ohio Veterinary Association, favoring a permanent annual appropriation of \$1,000,000 for continuance of hog-cholera control work in the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. KING: Petition of A. C. Harvey and other citizens of Abingdon, Ill., against the 5 per cent tax on the sale of automobiles contained in the new revenue bill, and stating same as discriminatory and becomes a burden and that an excise tax of this nature tends to destroy the sale of automobiles and accessories; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LINTHICUM: Memorial of Board of Education of Baltimore County, Md., indorsing Senate bill 4987, creating a department of education; to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. LUNDEEN: Petition of South St. Paul Live Stock Exchange, protesting unanimously against the adoption of the Sims bill (H. R. 13324); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, opposing the proposed increased war tax on theater tickets; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MOORES of Indiana: Petition of 225 employees of the Cincinnati, Indianapolis & Western Railway Co., favoring Government control and ownership of railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. POWERS: Petition of number of employees working in the shops at Ferguson, Ky., asking that Congress indorse the McAdoo plan of railroad control; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SMITH of Idaho: Memorial adopted by Boise Trades and Labor Council, favoring Government ownership of railroads; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, January 24, 1919.

(Legislative day of Monday, January 20, 1919.)

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hitchcock	Moses	Smith, Mich.
Beckham	Johnson, Cal.	Myers	Smith, S. C.
Calder	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nelson	Smoot
Chamberlain	Jones, Wash.	New	Spencer
Colt	King	Nugent	Sterling
Culberson	Kirby	Overman	Swanson
Curtis	La Follette	Penrose	Thompson
Fletcher	Lenroot	Polindexter	Trammell
France	Lodge	Pollock	Wadsworth
Frelinghuysen	McKellar	Ransdell	Warren
Gay	McLean	Sheppard	Watson
Hale	McNary	Sherman	Williams
Henderson	Martin, Va.	Simmons	Wolcott

Mr. CURTIS. I wish to announce that the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. SUTHERLAND] is detained by illness in his family.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I desire to announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN], and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY] are detained on official business.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is detained by illness. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. McKELLAR. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS] is absent on account of illness. I will let this announcement stand for the day.

Mr. KIRBY. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON], who is detained by illness. I ask that this announcement may stand for the day.

Mr. FRANCE. I announce the absence of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] on official business of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HITCHCOCK in the chair). Fifty-two Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum of the Senate present.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. PHELAN presented a petition of the Merchants' Exchange of Oakland, Cal., praying for the purchase from Mexico of Lower California, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of sundry Jugo-Slavs of Los Angeles, Cal., praying for the independence of the Jugo-Slavs of Europe, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the City Council of Los Angeles, Cal., favoring the independence of the Armenians, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a petition of the Supreme Council of Craftsmen, of San Francisco, Cal., praying for the passage of the so-called civil-service retirement bill, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Trades and Labor Council of Vallejo, Cal., praying for the proposed extension of Federal control of railroads, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a petition of the California Redwood Association of San Francisco, Cal., praying for the return to private ownership of the railroads of the country, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Sales Managers' Association of San Francisco, Cal., concerning the appointment of an after-the-war business planning commission, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Redlands, Cal., praying for an adequate construction of national highways, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. NELSON presented telegrams in the nature of petitions from sundry citizens of Fergus Falls, Minn., and the petition of E. L. Ogilvie, of South St. Paul, Minn., praying for an increase in the salaries of veterinarians employed in the Bureau of Animal Industry, which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. MOSES presented a petition of Local Lodge No. 245, International Boller Makers, Iron Ship Builders, and Helpers of America, of Concord, N. H., praying for the proposed extension of Federal control of railroads, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which were referred the following bills, reported them each without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

S. 5065. An act amending section 4904 of the Revised Statutes (Rept. No. 660); and

S. 5066. An act amending chapter 143 of the act of March 3, 1883 (22 Stats., p. 625), and for other purposes (Rept. No. 661).

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 5068) extending the benefits of the war-risk insurance act to certain civilians employed by the Army, asked to be discharged from its further consideration and that it be referred to the Committee on Finance, which was agreed to.

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 196) authorizing the Secretary of War to accept resignations of officers and to grant discharges to enlisted men in the Army under certain conditions, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 662) thereon.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 5420) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Everett, Mass., one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. NELSON:

A bill (S. 5421) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the municipalities of Vining, Crosby, Little Falls, and Wheaton, in the State of Minnesota, captured German cannons, cannon balls or shells, and gun carriages, condemned United States cannons, cannon balls or shells, and gun carriages; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOSES:

A bill (S. 5422) to donate a gun or howitzer to the town of Winchester, in the State of New Hampshire; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. KNOX:

A bill (S. 5423) granting an increase of pension to Isaac E. Walker (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WATSON:

A bill (S. 5424) to incorporate the World War Veterans of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOLCOTT:

A bill (S. 5425) granting an increase of pension to Alexander Faries; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMPSON:

A bill (S. 5426) granting an increase of pension to Jonathan Colyar (with accompanying paper); and

A bill (S. 5427) granting an increase of pension to Jacob R. Stillwagon (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A bill (S. 5428) granting an increase of pension to John McMahon; and

A bill (S. 5429) granting an increase of pension to Mary Leahy; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 5430) to increase the cost of the public building at Marianna, Fla.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A bill (S. 5431) authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to each of the cities of Pasadena, Willows, Chico, Redlands, and San Jose, in the State of California, one German cannon or fieldpiece; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

RIVER AND HARBOR APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. SPENCER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the river and harbor appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce and ordered to be printed.

Mr. KIRBY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the river and harbor appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce and ordered to be printed.

Mr. SHEPPARD submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the river and harbor appropriation bill, which were referred to the Committee on Commerce and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENTS TO APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. GAY submitted an amendment proposing to increase the salaries of officers and employees of the Subtreasuries of the country, intended to be proposed by him to the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

He also submitted an amendment proposing to increase the appropriation for the standardization and design of sugar-testing apparatus, etc., from \$20,000 to \$30,000, intended to be proposed by him to the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. SWANSON submitted an amendment proposing to amend the act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes, approved July 11, 1916, so as to provide that the term "rural post roads," as used in section 2 of that act, shall be construed to mean any public road which is now used or may be made suitable for the transportation of the United States mails, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the Post Office appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads and ordered to be printed.

FOOD SUPPLIES FOR EUROPE.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 13708) providing for the relief of such populations in Europe, and countries contiguous thereto, outside of Germany, as may be determined upon by the President as necessary.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Hitchcock in the chair). The Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. PENROSE. Will the Senator from Illinois kindly yield to me, as I have to go to a conference committee meeting on the revenue bill?

Mr. SHERMAN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I desire to have the Secretary read an extract from the inaugural address of the governor of Pennsylvania, made on last Tuesday, in connection with the serious financial problem presented by Federal taxation, and by the apparently endless propositions to appropriate and squander money for chimerical projects. It is not very long, but coming as it does from the recently elected governor of the State, taking office last Tuesday, a State which paid one-sixth of the Federal taxes last year and which will pay nearly \$1,000,000,000 of

taxation under the pending revenue bill, I think it may be of interest to the Senate. It is not long, and I will ask the Secretary to read it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Secretary will read.

Mr. PENROSE. It has some relation to the pending measure and therefore is not entirely irrelevant to the discussions which have been going on in the Senate.

The SECRETARY (reading from the Philadelphia Inquirer of Wednesday morning, January 22, 1919)—

Before we are able to plan very effectively for our work during the next four years we must give direct attention to the question of revenue. We shall have to face demands for increased appropriations due to the higher cost of maintaining our public institutions, in providing for the improvement of our schools and decent salaries for our teachers, for public works to assist in meeting the problem of unemployment, and for the extension of the State's aid for those maimed in battle and in our industries. While we may be able to prevent waste and extravagance by simplifying and coordinating the departments of our government, and may see to it that we shall receive full value for the money which we expend, we can not in the present aspect of things, and in view of the necessity of progressive development of the public enterprises, attempt much in the way of retrenchment.

The Federal taxgatherer is encroaching so deeply into the fields hitherto reserved for State revenues that the question of funds for State purposes is becoming a serious one. Few people realize the stupendous charge which has been imposed upon us by the plan of taxation which the officials at Washington have devised. Pennsylvania is paying about one-sixth of the entire cost of the administration of the United States Government. Last year this State contributed in Federal taxes almost \$600,000,000. This year, if the bill now before Congress shall become a law, as now seems probable, the Federal levy upon Pennsylvania will be approximately \$1,000,000,000. The vastness of this sum and the way in which it bears upon us may be better realized by a contemplation of the fact that the sum which the Federal Government proposes to collect from the people of Pennsylvania in taxes this year is almost equal to the aggregate amount raised by this Commonwealth for State purposes in all of the 128 years which have elapsed since the State government was organized.

The State revenues for this year will just about equal the interest at 4½ per cent upon the amount which we must pay to the United States. These figures are startling and they are of value in showing how important Pennsylvania is in this Nation and how modest have been the demands of the Commonwealth upon her own people.

Pennsylvania does not complain under the burdens which she is bearing. She has cheerfully stood by with her men and her money in the national emergency, and she is proud to again have the disposition and the substance to render such notable service to the Republic and to the world. But with our share so large in our national undertakings we may be pardoned a care that our funds contributed without stint to the Federal purse should not be wasted in incompetent administration nor scattered over the world in chimerical enterprises without practical purpose. Our people are loyal, generous, and progressive and have ever given liberally of their means in real philanthropy. They are possessed, too, of much of that very desirable quality known as soundness of mind or hard sense. They realize that real sacrifices must be made to pay the great debts we have incurred in saving civilization and democracy, but they feel that some plans must be devised for discharging these debts and providing for our own reconstruction and readjustment before we embark upon new international adventures in the uncharted seas of idealism and which may bring down upon our devoted ship of state the burdens of all mankind. Let us put our own house in reasonably good order before venturing too far in regulating the rest of the world.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, on the 22d day of February we shall reenact that now melancholy farce known as the reading of Washington's Farewell Address. I hope that the Senator from Minnesota will be present. I hope, too, that all the honorable Senators will be present, in order that they may understand how far we have traveled from the way there outlined and how rapid has been our gait. The days of Spartan simplicity have departed, never to return.

The Senator says he will trust to the personnel of this commission, being gentlemen of high character, giving their names—Lord Reading, of England; a citizen of France who was a minister of France, whose name I will not undertake to recall—

Mr. KING. Clementel.

Mr. SHERMAN. I thank the Senator from Utah for his timely suggestion—and a distinguished public official of Italy—that they will, with Mr. Hoover, administer this fund. I am satisfied with the character of these gentlemen. That is not the reason, Mr. President, that I will oppose the bill; I know that Hoover is not Hoover, and while it may be the voice of one it will be the hand of another.

Hoover, in the administration of food supplies in this country, was in authority because the chief was too busy elsewhere to interfere with his operations. It must be remembered, however, that this \$100,000,000 is not a food relief fund. It is a campaign fund for the President as a candidate for chairman of the Peace League of the World. Strip off this insolent pretense that covers this appropriation; tell the truth about it once in a while, if you must shame his satanic majesty in doing so. Mr. President, I am tired unto death of the sickening pretenses with which Senators condole and satisfy themselves in this Chamber. That is the reason why I hope all of them will be present when Washington's Farewell Address is read. It will be a time, certainly, for sober reflection.

Entangling alliances to be avoided? A hundred million dollars is the first tribute we pay to a departure from this advice; how much more nobody knows. It is one continual round of appropriations, not only since the war began but before we declared a state of war in April, 1917. As some irreverent wit said, he was willing to pay a war tax if there was any war. We were paying it before 1917 in increased taxes, in appropriations that were galloping into hundreds and thousands of millions. Nobody called a halt then. It is always popular to spend money in Washington. The press congratulates everybody who votes for an appropriation. It is one continuous procession for the distinguished citizens living in Washington to get their elbows into the Public Treasury. They are clamoring for the right of suffrage in Washington. They now have all that they are entitled to in Washington. It is a city of jobholders engineered by those who are adepts in the art of taxation. That, with the colored contingent, constitutes the whole city of Washington. What a noble constituency for a State! A population engaged in the ancient and honorable profession of irrigating the principal pursuits by diverting revenue from the Treasury. It lives on taxes. Enable it to turn on the power that sustains it! A lovely place it is, indeed, to be the Capital of a hundred millions of people—the place where the profiteer by day and by night knows no ceasing, and, like the thieves that steal and the moths that eat away, the destructive forces are always active. If endowed with membership in Congress, they would have but one duty—increase the pay roll and clamor for more.

It may be that some of us will lay up our treasure in heaven, but no living mortal man lays it up in Washington. Col. House in his book says the preachers have made a mistake always in saying that this world was only a place for penitence and mortification of the flesh; that it was wrong to teach that there was a better world than this. His doctrine was to make this the best place to stay, so that nobody would ever want to die, or hope, if he did, to go anywhere else.

I earnestly hope there is a better place when we leave this world than Washington.

Save the suffering poor of Europe? What about the starving poor in Washington and elsewhere? This is a place where it is a mad riot of grocers; where the market, which is supposed to be a place where supplies can be purchased at a reasonable price, is but a den of thieves; and I wish the Savior would return to earth and scourge them out of the temple of decent living and respectable prices. It will not be done. We will go on piling up protest after protest. It accomplishes nothing. It hurts nobody for us to talk. We have got to the point where everybody regards Congress with open and undisguised contempt.

Here is a cable dispatch from Europe, on the strength of which Senators in tumultuous and offensive haste fall over each other to announce their support of it. There is no use for the President to be at home. He can vote us much better abroad, because it possesses novelty. We have, too, in cities like Chicago and New York many European voters. The Poles vote and the Serbians vote and the Germans vote and the Italians vote. We hear of the Slovak and the Bohemian vote. But we have now the long-distance wireless or cable vote to order or direct Senators what to do. Of course, it is strictly modern. It is no concern to anybody what the laws as enacted by Congress might be. The more laws we make the more violations that occur and the more open and flagrant contempt is manifested for the lawmaking department. It simply furnishes a convenient excuse to express itself, and it does at divers intervals.

We go on talking, and the country says, "Yes; Congress is killing time. Listen to them talk." At what time do they come to us in earnest? Only when they want money, appropriations, tax levies. We have not yet quite reached the point in this country where the Executive levies taxes without the formality of submitting such measures to Congress and telling them in advance how he wants them levied and on appropriations how much he wants appropriated. It would be unpopular for the Executive to levy taxes. We still nominally are an English-speaking race, with the English-speaking prejudices and impulses, opposed to the Executive or monarch levying taxes. One English king went into exile for trying it and another lost his head. It has been unpopular since that time, because the average executive likes to keep his crown and his head as long as he is on earth. So those old prejudiced, reactionary methods of getting money from taxpayers are still obstacles in the way of a progressive executive.

Therefore, the Executive, Mr. President, is bound to come to Congress to get money. That is the only time we are of any importance. It is when the administration or some foreign applicant needs money. So we go on talking. Talk is futile.

We understand that. Whenever Executive directions are given, we know what will happen in this Congress. Nobody knows what will happen in the next, not even Republicans. That is beyond the ken of mortals, and possibly of Omniscience. At any rate, it is generally recognized that we just talk, and so I am talking this afternoon. I have something to say, but I do not know whether it will interest anybody or not. It does not particularly interfere with me if the majority side wish to go to their offices, or any of the minority. I am used to talking to the official shorthand reporters of the Senate. We have had many entertaining times in the last five or six years. It is customary in this Chamber. We can continue.

It is amazing to see how little of anything new there is in the world. Juvenal described the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD nearly 1900 years ago:

Lo! there expanded the nine hundredth page,
And still new themes, to tolls renewed engage;
Facts upon facts still force him to enlarge,
And reams of costly paper swell the charge!

No wonder the Federal Trade Commission wanted the price of news print cut down. It is an old problem.

But they say the men who administer this \$100,000,000 fund that we are about to appropriate are all competent. So are they all, all honorable men. An orator of antiquity in the Roman market place, after a celebrated assassination, said "they are all, all honorable men." Certainly.

What will they do with the money? Spend it for the needy ones in Europe. Here is the eastern flour situation at home, not from any imaginary source but from the cold-blooded reports of the market.

EASTERN FLOUR SITUATION.

Brainard, New York, in message to F. S. Lewis says: "Flour men say release of terminal wheat will not result in any buying of wheat, as it is impossible to sell flour. East is packed and jammed with all kinds of flour and absolutely no demand. Resellers here offering 75 cents to a dollar a barrel under mill prices. Food Administration flour department bought nothing for three weeks. Two large flour jobbers in New York failed this week."

And you did not get the snap of a finger any place around in the way of information from any official source.

Flour trade have taken big losses on flour substitutes.

Little sympathy can be expected. When we had to buy 25 pounds of substitute for every 25 pounds of flour they got even with the purchaser. When we bought rice, rye, barley, corn, hominy meal, anything in the line of cereals, what they lost on the flour they very promptly recovered on the substitutes. If anybody must lose anything let it be the profiteer who stocked up on substitutes and took it out of the families in the cities.

Recent advance in mill feeds resulted in losses on outstanding contracts. Isn't it time the consuming public benefited by reduced prices, owing to this unprecedented flour glut?

You can not go to a grocery store keeper in Washington and talk any flour glut to him. You will pay the same old price. It costs more to buy a 49-pound bag of flour, with a pound thrown in for the sack in this country, in any of the principal markets of the country, even at jobbers' prices or at retail groceries, than it does to buy it in London. We get no reduction in price when there is a glut in flour. Do you know why? It is one of the ineffable blessings of the Food Administration's control of things edible. They have not controlled anything except what the Government had to buy in bulk, in quantities running into hundreds of millions of dollars. Flour, wheat, iron, and steel, they bought and bought at Government prices. They fixed the price of those articles for the private consumer. What about the ninety-and-nine other articles that went into the kitchen? They soared until they touched the azure, and nobody complained except the man who had to pay the price. So we have gone along in that way. It is to continue. Government ownership of food, like railways and telephones, costs more the instant it undertakes anything.

One hundred million dollars will be appropriated. It will pass the Senate. Did anybody ever see an appropriation beaten here of late years? I have no recollection of it. Amendments have been adopted adding to the amount appropriated, but I have not seen any beaten to figure anything. This will pass like the others.

I am only registering my protest against this, Mr. President, as a few in the minority who think it is their duty so to do.

The procession moves rather rapidly. We have to keep up with it the best we can. With a censored press are we not allowed to know anything that is not supposed to be good for us? We are all in the attitude of Alice in Wonderland; poor trusting babes in the woods, that the executive minions come around and cover over with leaves once in a while, in order that we may sleep a little and wake to do what we are told.

I now read a letter. Here is a man who is doing what he is told because he has to. We have not that added consolation

to lay the extreme unction to our souls that we could not help it; we were acting under order though we are supposed to possess some discretion.

I shall omit the name, but his older brother, a reputable member of the bar in Chicago, I have known for many years. The younger brother is in France. He dates a letter from Le Mans on the 11th day of December, 1918. There is an excuse for this soldier doing what he does. There is not any for us—absolutely none:

DEAR MOTHER AND DAD: It has been three months since I have had mail and I am lonesome and downhearted. My mail is somewhere in France, and the Lord only knows when I will get it. I hope and trust you are all well and happy. Life for the past month has been hell. It seems as though all the S. O. S. are against us—

Which I understand from those whom I have consulted means the service of supplies—

There are 490 of us in this camp. All of us have either been wounded or sick, and do you know what they have us doing—stevedore work, unloading coal, etc. While we do such work the S. O. S. are playing ball and writing letters. If you hear of me going to jail you will know I put one of these S. O. S. birds to sleep. It gets a fellow's goat after he has spent nine months in the lines and dodged death a few times, sleeping in shell holes, rain, and mud, and then have to come back here and do stevedore work about the camp.

The suffering poor in Petrograd. There is nobody around in Trotsky's jurisdiction now but those who sympathize with him. The rest of them have been dispatched. I will get to that in a minute. I do not want to break the continuity of this letter. The writer continues:

We spent most of the time in pup tents, while the S. O. S. were sleeping in barracks, with stoves and bunks in them. After two weeks of the above we were moved into barracks and told to make ourselves comfortable. Everyone got for himself a bunk, after carrying it about a half a mile and putting it together. We spent one night in it and were told to move, and in came negroes to sleep in the bunks we carried and built. They moved us into barracks without windows and doors, and we again had to sleep on the ground. It rained last night, and the barracks were as waterproof as a sponge. We have not seen a pay day in months, and they will not try and get our mail. So you see how miserable this makes things for us. The Eighty-sixth Division, as you know is the Blackhawk, and it comes from Chicago. They have been over here for four months, and they think it is awful because they have not gone back by this time. We have been here since October 31, 1917, and, according to the papers, they are going to ask Congress to pass a law which will give them authority to keep us over here indefinitely. I had hoped to be home by spring, but it looks as though it would be next winter before they would even start to send us back. Oh, well, we had an easy time of it. We were only in the following battles: Champagne, Chateau-Thierry, St. Mihiel, Verdun, and the Argonne Forest, and in each one saw many of our pals fall from the Hun fire; but, regardless of all, I can come back and say I have done my bit to help win the war. I was in the first big American battle and the last one, and did not quit until I was forced to. It has been three long, weary months since I have heard from home, and I am lonesome and disgusted. I have been in this camp for a month, and, to tell you the truth, it has been the most miserable month I have spent since I have been here, and I have had some miserable days. I feel as bad and pretty near worse than when I was sent to the hospital, having been taken off the field of battle. All they think of back here is work us day and night. There are 400 from our division here. Every one has seen action and has been sick or wounded. Instead of giving us good living quarters, they house us in barracks without windows or doors, and, to top things off, we have been sleeping on the ground. You will not find the S. O. S. men living like this. They have warm barracks and bunks, and instead of working they write letters and play ball, and we have to do their work. I told you in one of my letters not to write me any more. Well, mother, cancel that order; it looks as though we will be here for a long time, so keep on writing. I must close, as I am out of news and disgusted. Hoping all are well and happy, I remain, with love,

Your son,

That is one. Here is another one. This second one has not gone across:

The boys at Camp Holabird have read with much interest the article in the Evening Sun of January 17.

On behalf of the boys, I would like to add to the statement of "A Holabird."

The officers of this camp have told us that no case except a case of absolute dependency or a case where the absence of a man will be destructive to a business will be considered for a discharge.

They also have told us that after all the other camps had been demobilized "the Motor Transport Corps would have to stay in service until the last truck had been picked up and the last box stored."

Now, a great part of the men of this camp are not only drafted, but are also in limited service. Why are we to be held until the rest of the Army is discharged?

There are thousands of men here repairing trucks. Surely this work is not of vital importance, nor is there any hurry about it when the Government has more new trucks on hand than they know what to do with.

We have been told that this is to be a permanent camp. If that is the case, there will be work here for 10 or 20 years. Will they hold us then?

The Government is in greater need of ships than trucks, and yet they can afford to pay civilians from eight to ten dollars a day to build them.

We do not mind working for the Government, but can't understand why we should do it any longer at \$1 a day.

If they want these trucks repaired, why can't they give us our honorable discharge and then hire us as civilians to do the work at the same compensation awarded to the shipbuilding trade?

We are compelled to work side by side with civilians at Camp Holabird. These civilians live in barracks, while many of us are compelled to live in tents. They have the privileges of a civilian, while we are under strict military discipline. They are earning from four to ten dollars to every dollar we earn. Is this justice?

I know of no other camp in the country that had finer morale while the war was on. We worked night and day and never complained. Is it right to hold longer men who gave all they were allowed to give?

Since the men have been told that they can't even put in an application for discharge they are disheartened. The morale is gone.

It is costing the Government thousands of dollars to repair a single truck because the officers can not get the work out of the men.

We, as soldiers, can do nothing to help ourselves. We are under orders and, as good soldiers, obey them. But we want the public to know the facts. We want the public to help us.

Can not some responsible citizens of Baltimore arrange to hold a mass meeting of soldiers to talk these matters over with some one representing the Government? We have shown in the past that we can work and are ready to do it again.

If the Government can explain why it is necessary to do this work in this way, why we will dig in and finish it up in a hurry.

But as matters stand now, I am afraid it will take many years to finish our work here.

ANOTHER HOLABIRD.

CAMP HOLABIRD, January 18, 1919.

If we have so much sympathy for the Bolsheviks, if we have sympathy that will take across, not with this hundred million dollars, it is true, but take across our food supplies in German tonnage to be furnished and enable the Germans to buy in the market—if we have enough for all that, why can we not get the price of food down in this country to something like a living rate? If we have time and money for that, why can we not get our young men out of the camps, who are working, doing, as one of them said, a stevedore's work for a dollar a day, and, as another in a camp says, doing work for a dollar a day on automobile repairing? Why can we not afford to get those men out of camp? You know why. I do not think there is anyone in Congress, in a majority, at least, now or hereafter, who will vote to remedy it. It will be left to the tender mercies of the War Department. It is because two distinguished officers of the American Federation of Labor say it would not do to demobilize the American soldier and send him back home on the general labor market, because it would cause a fall in wages. So the soldier is kept repairing trucks and shoveling coal in military camps in the United States and in France at a dollar a day under military orders, while those who work alongside of him as civilians and members of the union get from \$4 to \$10 a day. It is no wonder the boy in the letter asks his mother if she thinks this is justice. Organized labor overreaches itself when its leaders keep boys in the Army for the benefit of civilian labor unions.

The President has said the war is ended. Technically it is not so; practically it is. If it is, there is no reason why the demobilization of these men ought not to be had.

Go to the War Department, go as a minority Senator—I do not know the luck of the majority—I am not in their confidence at all times as a body—but I do know if you go in individual cases to the War Department to get a man out of the service to send him back to school or to take up his place in civilian life, they refuse to discharge him, and say, "Wait until his unit is reached and he is discharged in the ordinary course of affairs."

That is what the automobile repairer is doing; that is what the coal shoveler is doing at \$1 a day—waiting for his unit to be discharged. If we can take care of these things at Petrograd, in Belgrade, in Greece, and in Armenia; if we can go over to the Ural Mountains, halfway around the world, with our charity, it seems to me as though we might begin to dispense a little of it at home.

I shall vote against every appropriation hereafter unless it is absolutely indispensable to either civilian or military needs. I will no longer lend myself here to being the good Samaritan of the world.

Every night, nearly, Mr. President, I pull down my old dog-eared volume of Don Quixote. I hope at some place there is a Cervantes living in this twentieth century. He can, if he has the proper literary qualifications, improve on Don Quixote. Don Quixote is abroad now, the knight-errant of the world, largely fighting windmills. It is a toss-up of a coin which one is Sancho Panza—whether it is Col. House or the other fellow. But, after all, it takes money. That is where our modern Don Quixote is a more expensive character than the one of the fifteenth century literature. He could get along with practically nothing—a crust of bread, a bag of figs. He drank from the brook and his horse browsed wherever it was handy.

It is time we quit such prodigality, Mr. President. Every spendthrift at last comes to the end of his accounting. We have spent money in fabulous sums. It seems a comedy of expensive errors now. It will be a financial tragedy later on. Men the extreme limit of whose ability would be to have or count a thousand dollars have been talking glibly around this Capitol of billions. They roll it under their tongues as if a billion dollars were a mere matter of official fiat. They do not think anybody will ever have to pay it, but pay day comes in all things; it is merely the length of the postponement.

It is in Congress nothing but appropriations. France can take care of herself. A cabled column came across last week, in

which it was stated that work was offered Belgians, but they have been living on Hoover's charity so long that they do not care to work; they declined it when an occupation was open to them, because they knew they would be fed anyway. I do not undertake to indorse the truthfulness of that report, but it was a message which was cabled from abroad. Here are the changes that are constantly occurring. This is the official communique that was given out yesterday; this is the free press; this is the entire absence of censorship:

The President of the United States, the prime ministers and foreign ministers of the allied and associated powers and the Japanese representatives met at the Quai d'Orsay between 3 and 5.30 this afternoon and approved the proposal of President Wilson, which reads as follows:

Then it is set out—I shall not read it all, but only enough to point the argument on this question.

The single object the representatives of the associated powers have had in mind in their discussions of the course they should pursue with regard to Russia has been to help the Russian people, not to hinder them or to interfere in any manner with their right to settle their own affairs in their own way.

RUSSIAN PEOPLE FRIENDS.

They regard the Russian people as their friends, not their enemies, and are willing to help them in any way they are willing to be helped. It is clear to them that the troubles and distrust of the Russian people will steadily increase, hunger and privation of every kind become more and more acute, more and more widespread, and more and more impossible to relieve unless order is restored and normal conditions of labor, trade, and transportation once more created, and they are seeking some way in which to assist the Russian people to establish order.

They recognize the absolute right of the Russian people to direct their own affairs without dictation or direction of any kind from outside. They do not wish to exploit or make use of Russia in any way.

RECOGNIZE REVOLUTION.

They recognize the revolution without reservation, and will in no way and in no circumstances aid or give countenance to any attempt at a counter-revolution.

It is not their wish or purpose to favor or assist any one of the organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia, as against the others. Their sole and sincere purpose is to do what they can to bring Russia peace and an opportunity to find her way out of her present troubles.

That is what we are permitted to know—just what can be put on the cables by official authority, because the cables are Government wires. On this side the Russian Economic League published in a New York paper to-day their views of the situation. I shall not, as in the case of the other document, read it at length, but only refer to certain passages. This communication, which is a paid advertisement, is signed by Alexander W. Behr and five others. They say:

There is no denying the exceptional talents of the leaders of Bolshevism in phraseology. Having been for scores of years put aside from practical work by the Russian Imperial Government, the Russian revolutionary workers have to an extraordinary degree developed their faculties in the use of speech.

They are precisely like the average university professor, some of whom are no longer creative forces in this country, but are firebrands of sedition and destruction. There is scarcely a large university in this country—including those at the head of the list—that has not one or more of these seditious pests in its faculty. They teach a doctrine that is far worse than that of Eugene Debs. They have not the courage of Victor Berger; they have not that devotion to principle that Karl Marx had in his lifetime, or that later his modern German exponent, August Bebel, had. They are gentlemen who live in the closet and expound their supernal wisdom in the ears of their students. I have paid my respects to this gentry under their own roof-tree in the cloistered shades of learning, and I will continue to do so. They are a greater menace in this country to-day than the I. W. W. and Haywood. Debs is in the penitentiary; but these shallow, insincere, decayed philosophers of a decadent philosophy are teaching their insidious poison to the American youth in the guise of sociology and economics. It takes 10 years after the average boy gets away from the university with his degrees to educate him in the actual affairs of life, so that he knows enough to transact business free from the imbecility of their teachings. Outside of the manual-training schools and the schools of technology there is not one practical thing taught to counteract such poison. But the peace commission, with carload upon carload of freight in the way of documents, are abroad supplementing the efforts of our representative, and some of the kind of professors to whom I have referred are on that commission. We are asked here in this bill to make this appropriation of \$100,000,000 in such a way that it may be spent by some of the practical statesmen who are putting into operation the theories propounded by those professors.

The Russian Economic League know what they are writing about. They continue:

In fact, the rank of Bolshevism and its camouflage, the Soviets, did not only include in corpore the whole of the so-called black hundred and the hideous agents of political research, but all such people as had an irresistible desire for a fat living without the corresponding work and talents, all who had long ago lost their conscience.

I think I ought to preface this with the opening paragraph, which reads:

The Russian Economic League, founded by Russian business men at present living in New York, learns from newspaper reports with deep feeling of anguish and regret of the proposal to admit to the peace conference as representatives of Russia the agents of the so-called Bolshevik "government."

It is proposed, according to the official communication from Paris, setting forth the action taken yesterday, to recognize the Bolshevik government. So this hundred million dollars, or a portion of it, will be dispatched to that country to feed either their victims, if any can be found, or to feed the oppressors themselves. Just how much of the one or the other no one can tell. So long as we are asked here to devote a hundred million dollars, or any part of it, to the support of this element in Russia, that broke down, it is true, an ancient tyranny, but in doing so exposed the allies to mortal danger and increased the difficulty when we joined with them in April, 1917, of arriving at a successful conclusion, I think it is not a part even of charity, to say nothing of diplomatic or political reasons, to send a dollar into that country.

Let them restore order. It is said in the official communications that they must work out their own form of government, that their salvation lies in their own hands. Let them work it out, and when that is done they will take care of themselves. A government that will protect the fruits of a Russian peasant's toil will need no charity. Russians will care for themselves then. If an opportunity to work had been given to those in Russia who wished to remain at peace, there would be no famine in that unhappy country. Nobody could work there. The very creed, the political doctrine carried into effect by those whom the peace conference proposes to recognize as a government is violence and robbery, pillage and murder. The whole Bolshevik movement in Russia is a movement of crime and criminals. It is producing its natural result.

If it is the only government they can frame, let them send their representatives to the peace conference; let them send their ministers to this Capital. They will be recognized in both places, I presume. It will be a government, such a one as they have elected to form. Let it be so; but the question of voting to them some or all of this \$100,000,000, in the discretion of Mr. Hoover and his associates, is another question entirely. A government that is a chronic object of charity and practices repudiation of its debts will attract attention.

We have now reached a point in these peace negotiations, Mr. President, where it is absolutely certain that a portion of this hundred million dollars will be transmitted to Russia for the relief of her famine-stricken population. I believe in applying to nations something of the principle I apply to individuals. I know sometimes a humanitarian says it is a harsh creed, but it is the one nature applies and it is the one that both the Old and the New Testaments apply to us. There is no escape from the penalties attending the natural and reasonable consequences of our own acts. Russia is reaping what she has sown. We had no part in her overthrow. We did not frame the tyranny that made this necessary or possible. The only thing that we could say is that we harbored one of their principal agents in New York City for some months.

If it were a mere matter of Bolshevism in Russia and a hundred millions, or a part of it, to relieve the suffering there, if it stopped there, probably no American citizen could complain; but that is not the end of it. As this communication from the New York paper continues, in another paragraph which I have not read, Bolshevism is international. It is not content with disorder and sedition, pillage and murder, within the jurisdiction where it then is. Its mission, fanatical or otherwise, is to spread its bloody doctrine around the world. The Bolsheviks believe it is their duty, as a sincere Mohammedan does, to spread by fire and sword their belief to the uttermost parts of the earth. They will not be content when they have seized our supplies. There are no representatives there from this Government that can act. Mr. Francis, of St. Louis, is no longer a minister to whom we can appeal. He lives, while there, in fear of physical violence. Our consuls are seized; our consular agents are driven from post to post, until most of them from whom we have any intelligence are living under the muzzles of English guns, if at all, in the far north of Russia. The Bolsheviks respect no obligation of civilized life in private. They know no binding obligation of civilized government. They carry their doctrine wherever they can abuse their hospitality. Wherever they sojourn they spread their poison, like the guest whom you shelter under your roof who rises at the dead hour of night and places the torch to your dwelling. Their forbears were the nihilists of the early days, the practical anarchists, who believe that all government is wrong. The period of uni-

versal destruction is their aim. They avow they will girdle the earth with fire and ruin.

They are here. They are in this country. How many of you have read the magazine called *The Liberator*? The January number, 1919, is the eleventh one of the first year's issue. It is an anarchistic sheet. It calls upon those who are without property to remember that the Bolshevik brother in Europe was without property, but the proletariat of the American race must unite and rise and strike the capitalist until he has lost his possessions, or his life, if need be, to relieve those who are without property. The great middle group of Americans are designated for destruction. A capitalist is not merely a millionaire; he is anyone who employs another for wages. In practice in Russia it is any person who has anything of value a Bolshevik wants. That government has confiscated all the private property in land. The answer is famine. We are asked to devote part of this \$100,000,000 to remedy the natural consequence of such a government. Having produced such a wilderness of suffering and injustice in Russia, this magazine invites us to repeat it in the United States. Who will feed us when we have reaped the folly if we follow the path marked by this sinister crew? That is in the magazine. It is circulated through the mails in this country. The vigilant Mr. Burleson is so occupied in preaching Government ownership, in extending the power of his department, in grasping great enterprises, not one of which anybody around him, with but one exception, ever had the ability to frame or to administer, he is so busy in this that he has no time to extinguish these firebrands of Bolshevism in our own country. Is there a subterranean sympathy with them?

The other day I had a letter from William Bross Lloyd, whose paper was suppressed in Chicago. I had another from Adolph Germer. He, too, was not only forbidden the use of the mails and his paper suppressed, but he was tried with Berger a few days ago and was convicted under the espionage act. I read the evidence, the press reports, and have considerable bodies of the evidence from friends in Chicago.

The evidence in the trial of Berger was a mere Berean lesson leaf for Sunday school use compared with the boiling sedition, threatened disorder, and bloodshed that there are in this magazine. If Lloyd and Berger had prostrated themselves at the feet of the Executive, they would not have been disturbed. I will advertise the magazine. I have no compunctions in speaking its name. *The Liberator* ought to be suppressed. It is not the freedom of speech that is involved in permitting such a sheet to circulate. The freedom of the press has nothing to do with it, any more than the freedom of speech for the agitator who mounts the curbstone and preaches lawlessness and physical force. No one can say that that is a part of the freedom of speech—that his arrest, prosecution, conviction, and subsequent confinement, that any of these processes is an interference with the liberty or freedom of speech in this country.

There are limits beyond which every liberty passes into lawless license and crime. There is no such thing as absolute liberty in civilized communities. Civil liberty is the natural liberty of the person restrained by wise and just laws, necessary for the general good of the community. Therefore, in suppressing such sheets, in stopping the blatant mouths of such agitators, this Government or any State government does not interfere with the right of free speech or of a free press. It only protects itself against those who abuse that right and expose the established order of the community to destruction.

We are asked—and I presume, when the peace conference shall have acted upon that, it will be final—to recognize the Bolshevik government in Russia. We will come to that in due time in the Senate. I am opposed to dealing leniently, when it comes to an appropriation, with those who placed themselves in the bed where they now lie. We have in our country here many of those like the publishers and editors of this magazine. They are Russians. Turn to the editorial staff. It is a Bolshevik document. They are following out exactly the creed and practice of their brethren in Russia. The magazine itself refers frequently to Trotsky as a "friend of humanity." I have heard that phrase so long that whenever anybody begins to talk to me about being a "friend of humanity" I reach down and seize my valuables to see whether or not they are safe yet. I am through with the professional charity worker. I know many of them in private life. My charity will go to organized charity, where it can not be misdirected; but the professional "friend of humanity" always has something to benefit him.

This "friend of humanity" who is editing the magazine calls upon the proletariat of this country to organize. The magazine reminds them that the Government of Russia is now composed of their brethren. It is a direct appeal to the I. W. W. It is

a part, I would not say of the German systematic crusade, because likely that day is over, but it is a part of the Russian system operated there originally by the German. They appeal to every criminal and vagrant; they appeal to everybody who is opposed to the existing order of things.

I said the other day that the way to deal with those of the Trotsky variety in this country was with military force. I say so again, notwithstanding the statement of a distinguished Senator in this body, one whom I very greatly admire and trust, when he says:

I do not know whether if you feed them they can fight better or whether that is going to stop it, but I like his plan of stopping it by feeding them better than the plan of a distinguished Republican, who would stop it by shooting them. You will stop Bolshevism not by feeding them, you will stop it by removing injustices, and that is the way you will stop it in this country. Make no mistake about that.

With due deference to this distinguished Senator, if he would have you understand by that argument that such unrest, such disorder, such manifestations as the I. W. W., such defendants as Haywood and his ninety-odd associates, and Berger and his associates, as Mooney and his associates, as those recently tried and convicted in Sacramento, Cal., and their associates, as the same crew who are about the offices of the magazine in question—that all of them so conduct themselves and advocate violence because of the injustice practiced upon either them or somebody else, he is in error. I earnestly hope he does not so mean it. With any relief for the unfortunate, the humble, the struggling for better living conditions, he and I will join earnestly, I know. To justify lawlessness and violence as a social betterment has no place in this Republic. There is no room for Bolshevism here and no reason to attempt it.

What is that injustice that would justify Mr. Haywood? What is the injustice that would justify Mr. Mooney? Whether he is guilty or not, I am not now called upon to say. He was tried by a court in California under their laws. What is the injustice with Mr. Berger and his conviction? Were they protesting against injustice for which they were prosecuted, merely because they protested? Are those who are here in our country of the I. W. W.'s, preaching disorder and violence and murder, and practicing it, redressing an injustice which justifies them in their cause?

The great public, the final trial jury in this country, will be called upon shortly to discriminate between those riotous, torch-bearing assassins and those who are willing if they think there is an injustice peaceably to redress that injustice.

But the Senator does himself an injustice when he uses such an argument. This is no time for apologizing to the disorderly, to that supposed vast rabble that hangs upon the edge of every great population of a metropolitan center. This is no time, Mr. President, to be apologizing for that criminal movement that is always found to center in large cities and from there carry their organization outside.

Rather, Mr. President, now is the time for us to call a halt, to think clearly, to act without fear of consequence at the ballot box. This is no time to think about our election. That is the weakness of Congress. That is one reason why it universally has invited contempt. It is because they think more of their seats than they think of their behavior. The public is quick to discern. It is the weakest branch of the Government. It falls a victim more readily to every economic disease, to every passing tumult of the hour. Whenever some element of the kind I am describing belches its corrosive influence upon the multitude, you see Members of Congress begin to waver and apologize and take to the dark corners and wait until the storm is over.

[At this point Mr. SHERMAN yielded the floor for the day.]

Friday, January 24, 1919.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, an appropriation of \$100,000,000 will add to the burden and subtract from the tax sources of the various States. These matters mentioned in the message of the governor of Pennsylvania by the Senator from that State [Mr. PENROSE] work along two lines: One is the taxation, as in the inheritance tax, of an object of taxation which has heretofore been exclusively that of the State; the other is the withdrawal, by constant assumption of Government ownership, of property from State taxes, so that it is no longer possible to derive a dollar from those sources. From those two causes the sources of revenue of the States are being constantly diminished. It results in increased taxes upon land and upon personal property for State and local purposes. It will reach the limit of a State government's endurance. The Members of the Senate represent nationally the people of the United States, and in a very large way we represent the reserved powers of the

States in this body. It becomes the duty of the Senate, therefore, to protect the sources of taxation so that the revenues of the States may not be unduly curtailed.

Last night, Mr. President, I was referring to the fact that the disorderly element in the United States do not base their complaints upon any real injustice. Their complaints are fancied grievances; their complaints are the ones that grow not out of the social compact or civil society but out of the individual characteristics of those making the complaints. The disorder that is sought to be organized by the I. W. W.'s, by the Socialists who favor "direct action," by the alien element residing principally in the larger cities of the country, arises from no real grievance against the laws or the institutions of this country, if tested by the light of experience and by the merit of the individual making the complaint or those criticized.

I am not in accord with the Senator from Iowa when he says Bolshevism in this country can be destroyed or removed by removing the injustice. Justice will be done without threats of violence. It will come from the innate consciousness of the American people; it will move along the line of legislation in public and of private action in the various industries and occupations of the country; but there is no such thing in this country as a grievance that requires correction by violence. It is this purpose that the Bolshevik has in Russia and in other parts of Europe, and that the alien who has immigrated to this country and brought with him his doctrine proposes to institute here. The discontent that manifests its disposition to remedy its fancied grievances by violence is purely an alien discontent. It is made in Europe; a large part of it is made in Germany; and some of it is made in Russia. The criminal Bolshevism of this country is not based upon injustice. It grows out of the character of the individual. It is to that part of the movement of organized crime in this country that I directed my remarks yesterday evening. I will conclude this morning along that line.

Resuming the reading from the Russian Economic League, to which I referred yesterday, published as an advertisement in some of the New York papers, there are further paragraphs that illuminate the issue in this country. They say:

There is no doubt, however, that the happiness of humanity can not be attained by idling and destroying but only by constructive activity, by incentives to and development of labor, talents, creative genius, and initiative.

The Russian Economic League steadfastly keeps in remembrance the promise of President Wilson to stand by Russia.

Awaiting when and how this help will take form, the Russian Economic League can not but loudly give expression to its sentiment that it could not even imagine that help to Russia could take the form of admitting the theorists of Bolshevism to the world's tribune, from which to preach their corrupting lies, and of allowing the practitioners of Bolshevism "a breathing space" for the further strengthening of their "organization."

The Russian Economic League considers it its civic duty to the allies once more to remind them of the handwriting on the wall; Russian Bolshevism is a danger to the civilization of the world.

These men know this menace, what it means in Europe, and what it will mean here if recognition be given it. In this morning's cablegrams, reported in most of the newspapers, it is said:

In the meantime prominent anti-Bolshevik leaders in Paris are not clear on their course, and the first reports that they were favorable to the plan have been followed by a statement by such leaders as Sergius Sazonoff that they would not sit at the table with assassins.

The semi-official Temps also asserts that the supreme council's proposal "permits traitors who withdrew Russia from the war and turned the entire German strength against France to be received on the same footing as the faithful."

They condemn it in unmeasured terms. I realize the difficulty of preserving peace, with Russia in constant turmoil. Some legitimate Government must be organized in the course of affairs. I can not, however, reconcile myself, if the matter is to be voted on in this body, directly or indirectly to the recognition of the present Bolshevik government in Russia. That government was described in May, 1918, as follows by a member of the so-called International Federation, which is a part of the internationalism which is promoted by such spirits. He says that:

The Bolsheviks had many friends in Canada and the Russian Bolsheviks had proved themselves in advance of western civilization. We must destroy the very elements of the world civilization before we can begin to revolutionize the world.

This was said in New York on the 4th day of May, 1918, without protest, without the arrest of the alien in our borders who uttered such sentiments.

At the same time Norman Angell, of the British Labor Party ostensibly, but in reality repudiated by the labor elements of Great Britain, who is merely one of a group of radical socialists, made an address at the socialist conference in New York

City on the same day, in which he said that "the American Constitution is the worst in the world." That, too, passed without protest.

On the 28th of December, 1918, in the trial in Chicago of Victor Berger and his associate defendants, Dr. Carl Haessler, formerly instructor at the University of Illinois, and later employed as a special writer on the Milwaukee Leader, Mr. Berger's paper, was brought from the United States Army disciplinary barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., where he is serving a 12-year term for refusing to wear a soldier's uniform, and testified. His testimony was intended to show that Victor L. Berger, of Milwaukee, editor of the Leader, influenced him in no way in his determination to refuse to accept military duty. He said:

Berger is too slow a bird; he is not fast enough to travel in my company, politically or economically.

Continuing his testimony, he described himself as having been graduated from a university; that he won a Cecil Rhodes scholarship at Oxford University, England. He first became interested in socialism, he declared, while attending that university, and later was influenced by the books of Prof. Dewey, of Columbia University, and expressed admiration for the Bolshevik government of Russia. He is one of a very numerous group to which I alluded yesterday evening.

I have a letter from Mr. Adolph Germer, one of Mr. Berger's codefendants in Chicago, dated November 2, 1918, in which he demands—

that the people of Russia have complete freedom to solve their internal problems—

With which no complaint can be made—

and that the integrity of the Russian territory as well as that of Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, and the other border Provinces be preserved.

He demands, further, that there be—

international conferences for the exchange of opinions between the labor groups of the belligerent and neutral nations.

He demands that—

this Government refuse to consider any proposal for economic war after the war.

He demands also—and this letter was written before the armistice was signed—"immediate peace."

This is a part of the Bolshevik creed. They desire everyone else to be at peace but themselves; and in Russia, where their government, so called, has the power, there is no peace. Their government in practice is continuous pillage, murder, and famine.

I wish now to refer to the President's message of March 11, 1918, addressed to the Soviet council. He says:

May I not take advantage of the meeting of the congress of the Soviets to express the sincere sympathy which the people of the United States feel for the Russian people at this moment, when the German power has been thrust in to interrupt and turn back the whole struggle for freedom and substitute the wishes of Germany for the purpose of the people of Russia?

Although the Government of the United States is unhappily not now in a position to render the direct and effective aid it would wish to render, I beg to assure the people of Russia, through the congress, that it will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty and independence in her own affairs and full restoration to her great rôle in the life of Europe and the modern world.

The whole heart of the people of the United States is with the people of Russia in the attempt to free themselves forever from autocratic government and become the masters of their own life.

In response to this, on March 23, 1918, the Soviet council returned the following reply:

The all-Russian congress of Soviets expresses its appreciation to the American people, and first of all the laboring people and exploited classes in the United States, for the message sent by President Wilson to the congress of Soviets in this time when the Russian Socialist Soviet republic is living through most difficult trials.

The Russian republic uses the occasion of the message from President Wilson to express to all people who are dying and suffering from the horrors of this imperialistic war its warm sympathy and firm conviction that the happy time is near when the laboring masses in all bourgeois countries will throw off the capitalist yoke and establish a socialist state of society, which is the only one capable of assuring a permanent and just peace, as well as the culture and well-being of all who toil.

That is the resolution of the Russian Soviet congress of date March 14, 1918, but transmitted to us under date of March 23, 1918, as I have indicated.

These documents indicate the view taken by the President as well as by the present Bolshevik government itself. The Soviet council was the congress at that time. What does the Bolshevik government propose to do? First, it has confiscated all land titles in that country. It proposes to take the lands from those who have them and to divide them among those who do not have them. It has confiscated all domestic credits above 10,000 rubles; it has repudiated the entire national debt of Russia, including that to the United States. In yesterday's press report, it is true, there was a claim that Lenin and

Trotsky had found at this time that it was impracticable to confiscate all of the land titles. They have found difficulties in dividing the land so as to produce satisfaction, so that for the time being they are reputed to have ceased their efforts in that direction. The confiscation of all credits, domestic and foreign, however, still remains a part of the policy of the Russian government.

It is well known that they have repudiated their religious obligations; that they war upon the church; that a priest or a doctor of divinity is an object of derision and assault; that every place of worship, every church, synagogue, and cathedral in that country has been reduced to a civil basis, taken from the clergy who ministered to their parishioners or congregations. The Bolshevik government is admitted to be a godless government, as well as a violent one. They are only a little in advance of the Socialists in this country. There is no thorough Socialist who expounds his doctrines who admits any religious obligations. He is purely a materialist. He does not believe in any inspired or revealed word of Divinity; he believes only in what can be secured in this world, and teaches that there is no hereafter. Believing that, it is easy enough to understand and follow what else they teach.

On October 26, 1918, under the heading of "British wireless service," from the British capital, another rule or law recently made operative by the Bolshevik government is reported:

SOVIETS FOUND LOVE BUREAU.

LONDON, October 26.

Russian maidens under the jurisdiction of certain provincial Bolshevik soviets become the "property of the state" when they reach the age of 18 years, and are compelled to register at a government "bureau of free love," according to the official gazette of the Vladimir soviet of workers and soldiers deputies, which recently published that soviet's decree on the subject.

Under the decree, a woman having registered, "has the right to choose from among men between 19 and 50 a cohabitant husband." The consent of the man chosen is not necessary, the decree adds, the man chosen having no right to make any protest.

A similar privilege of choosing from among the registered women is given every man between 19 and 50 "without the consent of the women." This provision is described as "in the interest of the state."

Opportunities for choosing husbands and wives is to be presented once each month, the decree stated. Children born of such marriages are to become the "property of the State." Stringent rules and penalties are laid down for the protection of girls less than 18.

The decree further states that it has been based on the "excellent" example of similar decrees already issued at Luga, Kolpin, and other places. A similar "project of provisional rights in connection with the socialization of women in the city of Khvinsk and vicinity" has been published in the gazette of the workers and soldier deputies of that city.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BORAH. May I ask what the Senator is reading from? I did not catch it.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am reading from a wireless-message press report from London, England, of October 26, 1918, of a report of a decree of the Bolshevik authorities from certain districts in Russia.

Later, on January 4, 1919, to show that the matter does not remain quiescent, the town council of Petrograd, according to an exchange telegraph dispatch from Copenhagen to London, has decided that all unmarried women between the ages of 18 and 45 shall be provided with husbands selected by the council. The children of these unions, it is added, will not be allowed to remain with their parents, but will be educated under the control of the Soviet government. I might add here that it is a favorite principle with a purely socialistic State to follow out these plans. The children are to be taken as the wards of the State, provided for, and raised to maturity as such wards. The parents have no more concern with them than the sire and dam of the beasts of the field after the young shall have been born. It is a favorite theory all of the time which they seek to put in practice, that along with the godlessness of such a government comes the total irresponsibility of the parents and the full responsibility of the State to take the offspring and bring it to maturity. This is a part of the end of individual responsibility, to keep pace with the abolition of the private ownership of property, all of which shall be assumed by the State, toward which we are asked to advance on this country recently.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KING. As the Senator probably noticed, in yesterday morning's paper there was a dispatch from Copenhagen or from Stockholm in which were quoted recent publications by Soviet newspapers, in which they declare against all forms of religion, against the perpetuity of the church, in favor of the taking of all church property, and a general denunciation of religion.

Of course, the Senator must realize that when any sort of government is founded upon pure atheism and a denunciation of God, of religion, of all spiritual forces, of all moral forces, the character of legislation just referred to necessarily would follow. Such a government as that is an enemy to all forms of law or order or progress or civilization; and that is the kind of a government to which, apparently, we are giving some recognition at this time at the Paris conference.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think the Senator for the addition to what I have offered on that subject. It is a very timely and pertinent addition.

Mr. KING. And, if the Senator will pardon me, I might say that that is the government that is exciting the interest of the socialists, the pacifist, the traitors, the enemies of America in this country; and we find in a number of the publications and in the utterances of some of these "uplifters" a deep solicitude for the Bolsheviks of Russia. Any man who supports Bolshevism is an enemy to civilization, is an enemy to our form of government; and it seems to me that the American people unanimously should denounce that form of government, give it no countenance, and recognize it in no possible way, directly or indirectly.

Mr. SHERMAN. I entirely agree with the Senator on that subject; and it is because I have some settled beliefs of my own on that subject that I am taking the time of the Senate. I believe that no more important service can be rendered here and now than to awake the people of this country to the infernal, un-American, alien doctrine that has planted itself in some of the large cities, and is seeking recruits even among the agricultural population of this country. Few know what it means, in its final analysis, outside of those who have been studying it, and those who seek to spread it over the country. They know; and, as the Senator from Utah has forcefully stated, it is an atheistic and godless government, that fails to recognize any such thing as a moral tie in the affairs of this world.

I believe some of our troubles are traceable directly to the decay of some of those strong, moral obligations that belonged to the generations before us. Religious sentiment has come with so many to be a mere matter of form. It is quite fashionable to make light of it. It has become the custom to think that the affairs of this world take precedence of everything else. I have the misfortune myself to be a member of no church. I believe in the most universal tolerance; but, without the benefit of the associations and of the advantages that belong to such organizations, if I believed that this world ended here I would despair. If there is no such thing as religious obligation left; if a great government of 180,000,000 Russian people are finally to be governed and their foreign relations molded by such an organization, its hands steeped in the slaughter of its own citizens, its treasury filled with the proceeds of the pillage and robbery of both the native and the alien residents in that country—if such a government is to present itself in this Chamber, then I believe it to be the sovereign duty of every American to resist the established relations that may be sought.

Now, Mr. President, pertinently to this point, on this appropriation, will France be fed from the \$100,000,000? I think not. Will Belgium? Possibly; but Belgium has been cared for by private charity. The Red Cross and the money given in this country and elsewhere have kept Belgian citizens in their day of need, and when the great trial had fallen upon them, such of them as could be reached were sustained and soothed by the hand of private charity.

Will it go to England or any of her colonial dependencies? It is manifestly not intended to be used in that way. Some may go to the Armenians, the Syrians, certain portions of the Balkan Provinces, and Serbia; but these items of relief are comparatively insignificant. I state now that the greater part of this \$100,000,000 will be spent in Russia in establishing relations with the present Bolshevik government. They have a keen appetite for plunder and a scent for spoils unrivaled elsewhere in the world. They are cosmopolitan in their tastes. It is immaterial to them whose gold it is—whether it is German or American. They take it all with cheerful impartiality, because gold is gold, from whatever source it comes. They welcome it any way except working for it. Because of the message, nearly a year ago, in which the President showed himself as willing then to open relations with that government, followed by the press reports of yesterday, where they propose to admit its representatives to the peace table, upon his motion, it has been evident that the purpose of this conference is only expressing the long-settled purpose of the Executive in the recognition of that government. A large part of this money, therefore, I think will be spent in Russia; and if so, it must be spent under the administration of the Bolshevik authorities.

It was no platonic love between the German and the Bolshevik a year or more ago when the celebrated Brest-Litovsk treaty was concluded. There was as much concert of opinion as there was receipt of German money. Therefore, when I turn to what Germany is favoring and find it so similar to the Bolshevik government, I am not surprised at what has happened.

The materialist element in Germany is very large. The philosophic socialist is much in evidence there. He is a materialist of the grossest sort. They are rapidly developing the same class of godless population there that is found in Russia. Naturally with this lack of moral obligation there comes first the relation with the weaker sex. The civilization of all the races that have inhabited the world show an unfailing index in their treatment of womankind. Among the savage she is a beast of burden. She is merely a convenience, not a companion. As nations advance woman is emancipated, she ranks with man and is revered as the mother of the race.

Here is a pamphlet on this subject circulated in Germany, based upon the future need of the German Army because "the military strength of the people," it says, "depends in part upon the number of men able to bear arms." Its main proposals read as follows:

Women in all classes of society who have reached a certain age are, in the interests of the fatherland, not only authorized but called upon to enter into a secondary marriage which is supported by personal inclination. Only a married man may be the object of this inclination, and he must have the consent of his married wife. This condition is necessary in order to prevent the mischief which otherwise might surely be expected.

The offspring of these lawful secondary marriages bear the name of their mother, and are handed over to the care of the State, unless the mother assumes responsibility for them. They are to be regarded in every respect as fully equal members of society. The mothers wear a narrow wedding ring as a sign of their patriotism. The secondary marriage can be dissolved as soon as its object has been attained.

This professor, by the way, is connected with a German university. Like all of these plans for the amelioration of human society, they come from distinguished professors, that group of intellectuals who are continually seeing things that are so far in advance of the possibilities of human nature.

Continuing, this professor says he thinks the object of this new institution can be fulfilled in 20 years, and that secondary marriages might then be abolished. He ends his pamphlet as follows:

The difficulties consist solely in ethical scruples, which, notwithstanding the issue of the proper regulations by the State, will continue to operate until conscience has disposed of them. Thus this question becomes a religious question, which can be solved only with the help of the clergy. It rests, therefore, with the women and the clergy, assisted by the State, to determine whether Germany shall be able not only to maintain herself on her present pinnacle of morality, but by her own strength to stand up in the future as in the present to the pressure of enemies who are increasing numerically.

Then there is a leaflet which was distributed among the soldiers. One is entitled "Empty Cradles—a Soldier's Duty." A translation of the German is as follows:

Soldiers, a grave danger assails the fatherland by reason of the dwindling birth rate. The cradles of Germany are empty to-day; it is your duty to see that they are filled.

You bachelors, when your leave comes, marry at once the girl of your choice. Make her your wife without delay.

The fatherland needs healthy children.

You married men and your wives should put jealousy from your minds and consider whether you have not also a duty to the fatherland.

You should consider whether you may not honorably contract an alliance with one of the million of bachelor women. See if your wife will not sanction the relation.

Remember, all of you, the empty cradles of Germany must be filled.

It is proposed further that the universities of Germany shall enter upon a crusade. Not only are the clergy to be invited to establish a new moral sense nationally, but these professors are to teach it in their universities, a promiscuous marriage alliance with the offspring owned by the State as the new creed of the social compact, to be taught by grave professors as a part of the sociology we hear something about in so many universities in this country. It is but a short step from all property in common to all women in common. A promiscuous alliance is part of a common creed. One injustice most clamorously protested against is that the property-owning classes have the handsomest women.

Therefore, Mr. President, it occurs to me that when there is such a similarity between Germany and their avowed purposes and the practices of the Bolshevik government, there is what these men say in the advertisement of day before yesterday to remember that Russian Bolshevism is a danger to the civilization of the world.

Great honor is to be attached to the French members of the peace conference for refusing to admit to that conference representatives of that government. If they have unhappily yielded, it is because by pressure begun by the Executive of this country

to yield; it is more in order to make some progress even at a sacrifice of principle than anything else that such recognition has been given.

Therefore this appropriation, Mr. President, of \$100,000,000, a part of which is bound to be spent in feeding the supporters of that government, ought not for a moment to pass this body.

Some of the same phraseology to which this advertisement alludes finds lodgment unfortunately in the mind of our Executive. I read yesterday evening the statement that the Bolshevik in Russia having control of the government has an exceptional talent in phraseology. There seems to be a sort of brotherhood of expression. They all have a similar language. They are rather haberdashers, as the French novelist puts it, in pronouns. They speak of themselves a great deal. They demand their particular kind of justice as the price of peace. This Government, State and National, will do justice to every unfortunate, but it will not compromise with organized criminal movements in whatever form they may manifest themselves. The President uses the following language:

The men in the trenches, who have freedom from the economic serfdom to which some of them have been accustomed, will, it is likely, return to their homes with a new view and a new impatience at all mere political phrases, and will demand real thinking and sincere action.

I want the sincere action now for the men discharged from the military service. Their destitution is the most disgraceful "economic serfdom" I can imagine. Instead of begging on the streets of the cities when he reaches our shores, he ought to have this \$100,000,000 appropriated for his relief instead of sending it to Europe, and a large part of it to be used in the relief of the Bolshevik who avows and practices what I regard as the most infamous doctrine of any age or any people.

When the President comes back there will be the usual crusade. It will be accentuated by this appropriation. By appropriating this money with no limitation on the use of it in Russia by the authority to which I have referred, it will be regarded as a tacit indorsement. After a while the tentative treaty will be presented to this body. Then the usual publicity campaigns will begin.

It is proposed, so certain press dispatches say, by the President, that a continental tour be engaged in by him as soon as the peace treaty is presented to this body. Whatever protest may be made, there is a censored press yet. This body will have but very little of the actual negotiations which lead up to the formation of the treaty. It will be put into this Chamber, referred to the committee, discussed there, and some hearings possibly had. In due time it will be out on the floor of the Senate, and we will be urged to instantly ratify it. A campaign will be started. In it will be the recognition of the Bolshevik government. The espionage act will still be in force. If Congress is not in session, no one can answer the President without danger of prison. It means that all of that alien element in this country will take fresh courage. I wish for my part that Congress would enact a law before the 4th day of March that would deport every one of that ill-favored ilk to the country of their origin and forever bar our gates against them. There is not one of them who can not pass an educational test. That is no bar. They can pass any educational test proposed. But their character as importers of alien, un-American doctrines of disorder and sedition ought to bar their entrance to any civilized government in the world.

But in this continental campaign the President will presume to build a backfire against every Senator who refuses to approve his handiwork. Who can answer him fairly if the espionage law remains? He is sacred, and prosecution, not argument, is the answer. Instantly every department, board, bureau, commission, everybody on the pay roll of the Government, will be unkenneled and turned into a campaign committee to urge the ratification of the treaty as it is presented. That is what is likely to happen to this Senate.

How will these departments be used? Let me give you a single instance. Last November a great many moving-picture slides were sent out all over this country. A friend preserved one of a great flood of them. I have it in my hand. It bears this inscription, with the franking privilege:

United States Fuel Administration.
Washington.
Official business.
Miners are needed to dig coal.
Please run this.
Penalty for private use to avoid payment of postage, \$300.

This is addressed to the Globe Theater of a certain city in a Western State.

I will now read for the benefit of the reporter, in order that it may be placed in the RECORD in due form, these slides to show just how the Government power is prostituted to coerce not only the voter but to be used in the same way to coerce every Senator

to ratify the treaty as it is presented. I know how these powers have been abused in the past, and I know how they will be used again. Here is one:

Col. Roosevelt during the War with Spain said a refusal to sustain the President this year will in the eyes of Europe be read as the refusal to sustain the war. If then, why not now?

That was prepared out of a Government appropriation and sent out during a political campaign.

I read another one. In the instance which I now read from the slide there is a picture of the President in the upper left-hand corner and the following language to be thrown on the screen:

Washington and Lincoln were hampered by critics. Do not hamper Wilson. Elect a man who will help him win the war.

That is paid for out of Government funds and sent out by the Fuel Department, franked through Burleson's Post Office, to be put out at the various moving-picture shows for the entertainment of the multitude at Government expense, a purely campaign document. I have no objection to using it if it were sent out from political headquarters, but I do object to using money to coerce the voters or to induce them out of the taxes contributed by every taxpayer.

Again, another slide, having a like picture of the President, contains the following:

Unity of action is essential now in Washington as unity of command is in France. Elect men in harmony with Wilson, who will help him win the war.

This was all received at or about the time of the Executive's celebrated letter of October, 1918, in which he said there could be no patriot elected except on a Democratic ticket. These were sent out literally by the hundreds of thousands to carry the same message. It was the use of Government funds to run a political-party campaign, the most flagrant abuse of political power that has been manifested in the lifetime of this country.

Again, when this treaty is presented he would be no respecter of any political party but his own. He will in the same way take every power of the Government available in every department of the Executive, with every dollar of appropriation that can be had from this Congress, and use them in a drive against the Senate to ratify the treaty presented without exercising its own judgment in any essential particular. The people are debauched by their own money.

I say, Mr. President, if this appropriation were limited to the necessitous cases in France, Belgium, and Serbia, for the Armenian, the Syrian, or the Polish needy, or other friendly unfortunate races, parts of the submerged nations of history of long ago, and excluded specifically all parts of Russia under the control of the Bolshevik government and Germany and the allies of the central powers, I would have no objection to it, although I think it is time to call a halt even then. We must look after our own households. We have reached the point, unfortunately, where we can not make these appropriations forever.

Taxes are mounting rapidly, until we have reached almost the limit of the taxpayers' ability. Many a small business today is in doubt whether it can run another 12 months. With taxes accumulating, with the difficulty of help, with the inability to get their men out of the Army to return to private occupations, they are almost in a condition, the average-sized concern of a million dollars or so, to retire from business. They can not readjust their affairs from a war to a peace level. Unless something is done to relieve these burdens, and done promptly, not next year, nothing will be able to survive the financial cataclysm but the very largest concerns, and they in turn will be seized by the Government, and then the revolution preached by Trotsky and hinted at by the President and some of his appointees will be complete.

I have taken this time, Mr. President, because the American people must awaken to the gravity of the issues involved. It is time for plain speaking. It is time to describe the Socialist and all his allied people and political ownership of utilities in plain language. The issue will frame itself, and it will call upon the best thought there is in both political parties to stem the tide that is even now running high both at home and with our Executive abroad.

I ask that the documents from which I have read may be printed at length in the RECORD without my reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

PETROGRAD SOVIET WILL PICK HUSBANDS FOR WOMEN.

LONDON, January 4, 1919.

The town council of Petrograd, according to an exchange telegraph dispatch from Copenhagen, has decided that all unmarried women between the ages of 18 and 45 shall be provided with husbands selected by the council. The children of these unions, it is added, will not be allowed to remain with their parents, but will be educated under the control of the Soviet government.

RUSSIAN ECONOMIC LEAGUE.

The Russian Economic League, founded by Russian business men at present living in New York, learns from newspaper reports with deep feeling of anguish and regret of the proposal to admit to the peace conference as representatives of Russia the agents of the so-called Bolshevik "government."

Such an act of unfriendliness toward all loyal and true to the allies' elements of the Russian people can be explained in two ways only: Either by a monstrous misunderstanding or by an intentional unwillingness on the part of the authors of this proposal even in some future time to see Russia great again, united and free, instead of divided, weakened, and deprived of significance and a worthy voice among the nations of the world.

The league indignantly rejects the thought even of the possibility of this last explanation being the true one and can only adhere to the first one, namely, an astounding ignorance of the world's public opinion as to the real nature of Russian Bolshevism.

The league finds it necessary, first of all, to point out the significant fact that all such persons as come forward with praise to Bolshevik ideas invariably start with the emphatic assurance that they themselves are not Bolsheviks.

This phenomena, of course, has its roots either in the desire to emphasize their supposed disinterestedness or in the tact avowal of exceptional baseness combined with that Bolshevism, which for other reasons the advocates of Bolshevism are eager to exculpate and to exalt.

In Bolshevism it is necessary to distinguish two different sides; firstly, phraseology; and, secondly, an indescribably abominable practice.

There is no denying the exceptional talents of the leaders of Bolshevism in phraseology. Having been for scores of years put aside from practical work by the Russian Imperial Government, the Russian revolutionary workers have to an extraordinary degree developed their faculties in the use of speech.

The building up of theoretical schemes of universal happiness on earth, although these schemes absolutely disagree with the real conditions of life and actually contradict them, being at the same time, however, of extraordinary beauty and enticement, is no doubt one of the foremost qualities of the Russian Bolshevik theorists.

It can not be denied that some of them believe in the Utopia they themselves have created. Even more, their almost religious belief in their own doctrines has led them into the abyss of moral degradation in which they have fallen, dragging down with them our entire great country.

The trouble was, when they reached a position making it practically possible for them to realize their ideals they encountered the fact that actually all the educated classes in Russia were in the camp of their adversaries.

They, however, did not for a moment doubt the righteousness of their theoretical inventions and did not hesitate to quiet their conscience with the accusation of the Russian intelligent classes in what they said was egotism of class and to begin to make Russia happy on the Bolshevik plan, against the will of the majority.

This first deal with conscience was the beginning of the moral downfall of Bolshevism.

Encountering the firm refusal of the educated class of Russia to abet communistic experimentalizing, they could do nothing else but begin speculating on the very lowest instinct of the population and to seek the support of the scum of the people of everything morally weak or even openly criminal.

In fact, the ranks of Bolshevism and its camouflage, the Soviets, did not only include in corpore the whole of the so-called "black hundred" and the hideous agents of political research, but all such people as had an irresistible desire for a fat living without the corresponding work and talents, all who had long ago lost their conscience.

Among this gang, composed of the scum of human society, the Bolshevik theorists entirely disappear. It is left to them to write flyleafs, which are styled decrees of the Russian Government, but which are put into practice only inasmuch as they serve to sanctify the beastly appetites of the Bolshevik masses.

This literature of decrees, as well as the diplomatic overtures of the Bolsheviks serve only for catching the simple-minded foreigners who can not grasp the idea that anybody could go so far in prostituting human thoughts and words, as is done by the Bolshevik leaders.

The practical work of the Bolsheviks, as it appears in Russia, is done not by them but by more "businesslike" elements of the Bolshevik party.

The theorists bluff the world with the highness of their ideals and the practitioners in the meantime organize the all-Russian gangs of thieves and robbers.

The theorists in their irresistible thirst for power try to build the ideological fundament under the destructive work they do in order to satisfy their political ambitions, and the practitioners under the banging of highly socialistic and "democratic" watchwords build up from their lines a new class of bourgeoisie, only one having for basis of its riches not labor and talent, but the most open-faced robbery.

There is some reason for the singular new "sport on sabres," which has spread in places where the Bolshevik government has been liquidated. The population of these places makes a regular occupation of systematic shooting of the fleeing Bolsheviks, explaining this sport by the words that it is more profitable to kill a Bolshevik than a sable, as unfailingly he has on his person not less than 10,000 to 20,000 roubles, and sometimes much more.

The public opinion of the world, fascinated as it is by the revolutionary phraseology of the Bolshevik theorists, is not inclined to heed the lessons of history. The phenomenon of Bolshevism, such as it really is and not such as it is depicted by the theorists, is not new to the world. Toward the end of the French Revolution and before the coming of Napoleon France was likewise infected by gangs of robbers, and these gangs also hid themselves behind the banners of beautified politics. The only difference is that the French Bolsheviks did not have talented organizers uniting their forces and justifying in theory robbery and violence. France brought forth not a Trotsky but a Napoleon.

In spite of the high-flowing revolutionary phrases, or rather under their roar, the Russian people have been so much "liberated" from all rights, not only political ones but the very elementary human rights, that with good reason they begin to recall to memory even the Czar's régime as something that is worthy of envy and regret, as a lost paradise.

It needs only a slight impulse to see Russia drop back into the most violent reaction.

The Russian Economic League can not, of course, make so light of historical events as to satisfy itself with an explanation that a licen-

tious mob composed of the scum of the town populations has found leaders and ideologists full of temper and talent.

There can be no denial that the causes of sympathies for Bolshevism root much deeper than this in the great mistakes and even crimes of the bourgeois order of things (not being, however, connected with the nature of it), in its lack of care for the lower classes, and finally in the cruel sufferings brought on by the war in the perversion of human psychology, in the taste for atrocities raised by the war in the masses, and in their belief in the efficacy of violent methods.

The masses have been attracted to Bolshevism as the representative of the most radical turn of human thought, hoping to escape from the distressing reality into the realm of ultrarevolutionary dreams.

There is no doubt, however, that the happiness of humanity can not be attained by idling and destroying, but only by constructive activity, by incentives to and development of labor, talents, creative genius, and initiative.

The Russian Economic League steadfastly keeps in remembrance the promise of President Wilson to stand by Russia.

Awaiting when and how this help will take form, the Russian Economic League can not but loudly give expression to its sentiment that it could not even imagine that help to Russia could take the form of admitting the theorists of Bolshevism to the world's tribune, from which to preach their corrupting lies, and of allowing the practitioners of Bolshevism "a breathing space" for the further strengthening of their "organization."

The Russian Economic League can not forget that as attested by the most authoritative observers of Russian life, who personally took part in the heroic struggle with the Bolsheviks and the Germans, a military force of 10,000 to 20,000 disciplined and suitably provided men would have sufficed to take Moscow last summer, and that the same object now requires over 150,000 men.

The Russian Economic League considers it its civic duty to the allies once more to remind them of the handwriting on the wall: Russian Bolshevism is a danger to the civilization of the world.

The experience of the Russian political parties who tried to treat Bolshevism as a certain kind of honest political creed, which can be made compromises with and can be opposed by parliamentary means, has, in the opinion of the Russian Economic League, shown only too clearly by the tragic end of the Russian Empire that Bolshevism can not exist at the same time as civilization and democratic ideals.

For Russia the last days are nearing when the help of the world's democracies may still be able to save her the idea of democracy.

Russia, by the efforts of the Bolsheviks, is already brought to the threshold of the most sweeping reaction, and, following upon this, of such international combinations, which will essentially oppose and menace the interests of really democratic nations.

RUSSIAN ECONOMIC LEAGUE,
ALEXANDER W. BEHR,

Acting President.

W. N. BASHKIROFF,

A. A. BOURLIKOFF,

E. I. LJUBOVITCH,

S. S. NOVOSELOFF,

B. N. SAMOILENKO,

Vice Presidents.

CHICAGO, ILL., November 2, 1918.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

SIRS: The world is shaken to its foundations. Everywhere the people are rising. Revolution has swept Russia; Bulgaria, Austria, and Germany are in its grip. The Socialists of England, France, and Italy speak with increasing authority. We are witnessing the birth of a new world. The Socialist Party of the United States is a part of the international socialist movement. As such, we speak to you in the interest of the workers of the United States and of the world.

The opportunity for peace is here. We demand that the imperialistic and reactionary forces in our own and allied countries shall not be allowed to impose such terms and conditions as will make the acceptance of the proposed armistice impossible by either the governments or the peoples of the enemy countries.

1. We demand that in the coming peace the principle of self-determination of peoples be asserted to the fullest degree, with the right of all subject peoples and races of both the central and the allied powers to determine the conditions of their own existence.

2. We demand that the peoples of Russia have complete freedom to solve their internal problems, and that the integrity of Russian territory, as well as that of Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, and the other border provinces, be preserved.

3. We demand that the present preliminary and all subsequent peace negotiations be conducted with the strictest observance of the principle of open covenants of peace arrived at publicly.

4. We demand that duly accredited representatives of subject peoples and of the economic and political organizations of the working classes in all countries participate in the final peace conference.

5. We demand that passports be granted representatives of labor and socialist groups to attend international conferences for the exchange of opinions between the labor groups of the belligerent and neutral nations.

6. We demand that this Government refuse to consider any proposal for economic war after the war.

Respectfully, yours,

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY,
ADOLPH GERMER, National Executive Secretary.

ALLIES ADOPT WILSON PLAN TO AID RUSSIANS—RECOGNIZE REVOLUTION—CONCEDE RUSSIA'S RIGHT TO SETTLE AFFAIRS—REGARDED AS FRIENDS—SOVIET ASKED TO MAKE TRUCE AND CONFERENCE WITH ALLIES—ALL FACTIONS TO BE HEARD—PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL, APPROVED BY SUPREME COUNCIL, DISOWNS DESIRE TO EXPLOIT RUSSIANS AND EXPRESSES WILLINGNESS TO HELP THEM "IN ANY WAY THEY ARE WILLING TO BE HELPED"—ALLIES TO SEND COMMISSION TO POLAND—UNITED STATES ALSO BEING REPRESENTED.

PARIS, January 22.

Led by President Wilson, the supreme council of the great powers today moved to unite the factions of distracted Russia and bring them into the peace congress.

They unanimously adopted a proposition brought forward by President Wilson asking all the Russian factions, including the Bolsheviks, to meet the allied and associated governments at Princes Islands, in

the Sea of Marmora, on February 15, the contending factions meantime declaring a truce and suspending all military operations.

MAY SEND PERSHING.

The joint commission of the associated governments will be announced as soon as the Russian factions accept the proposal, which was communicated to them by wireless to-night. The Russian commission will proceed to the meeting place, probably on a warship, by way of the Black Sea and the Bosphorus.

Gen. John J. Pershing, the American commander in chief, has been called to Paris and it is expected that he will be the military member of the American representatives of the joint commission.

WILSON TAKES LEADERSHIP.

Aside from the importance of the conclusions reached, it was especially notable as being the first time that the voice of the United States had taken the direction in the concert of European powers on the most serious European question now presented. There was added significance in the fact that an American President in person had taken leadership in the council, made up chiefly of European statesmen, and had pointed a way which they had unanimously adopted.

The final result came after three days of continuous discussion of Russia, which did not crystallize until the final hours, when President Wilson presented in writing the plan he had elaborated.

There was little opposition, and this was based mainly on doubts as to whether the proposition would be accepted.

FOUR CONDITIONS OF PEACE.

In reply it was pointed out that the contending factions were well-nigh at the end of their resources and that their needs likely would lead them at last to a combined appeal to the associated powers.

Besides the definite proposal as given in the communique, the joint commission of the associated powers will lay down four conditions indispensable in bringing about an adjustment. First, peace at all points; second, removal of all economic barriers which restrain the free circulation or exchange of food and commodities between the factional zones and the outside world; third, general elections on a representative basis; and fourth, some adequate arrangement for the payment of debts.

Even if eventually the proposal is not accepted, members of the council expressed the view that their proposition was before the world, and that it would pave the way for such other measures as their own action had brought about.

OUT OF CONTENTING ZONE.

The Princes Islands were chosen for the eventful meeting because they are outside the zone of any of the contending factions. They are also allied headquarters, and are not open to be obnoxious to any of the factions as would be other points, having better material facilities for the meeting.

February 15 was designated as the time of the meeting, so as to give time for representatives to come from the remotest sections of Siberia and other distant localities.

Besides the decisive action taken with regard to Russia, the council to-day also provided a joint commission of two each from the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy to proceed immediately to Danzig and Warsaw for consideration of the entire military, economic, and political situation of Poland.

A plenary meeting of the full conference was announced for next Saturday, when the plans of President Wilson and David Lloyd George, the British prime minister, dealing with a league of nations will be the first order of business.

To-day's action on Russia and Poland, however, goes into effect without presentation to the full conference, and is taken as the action of the great powers.

RESULT OF MORNING SESSION.

These announcements were made in the official statement of the morning proceedings of the council, which reads:

"The supreme interallied war council met this morning at 11 o'clock at the ministry for foreign affairs. The President of the United States of America and the prime ministers and ministers for foreign affairs of the allied and associated powers, as well as Baron Makino, and Baron Matsui, the Japanese delegates, considered the Polish question, on which they consulted Marshal Foch. They decided to send at once to Poland a mission composed of two delegates, one civil and the other military, of the United States, the British Empire, France, and Italy.

"The ministers then resumed the examination of the Russian question, and President Wilson read a proposal which will be discussed this afternoon. The meeting will take place at 3 o'clock.

AT THE MORNING COUNCIL.

When the supreme council of the peace conference met this morning there were present, in addition to all the members of the council, Marshal Foch, the allied commander in chief; Gen. Weygand, his chief of staff; and Rear Admiral Hope, deputy first sea lord of the British Admiralty Board.

W. F. Massey, the premier of New Zealand, was present with the council for a short time.

ITALY DISCUSSES CLAIMS.

The Italian delegation to the peace conference held a conference to-day with Gen. Diaz, the Italian commander in chief, who arrived in Paris to-day to discuss Italy's aspirations from a military and strategic point of view, with special attention to the possession of what the Italians call "the keys of the doors on land and sea."

To realize this object the Italian delegates, it is said, consider it indispensable that Italy possess the Brenner Pass and also the Dalmatian coast and Zara and Sebenico. Without this territory they say it is impossible for Italy to control the Adriatic, as otherwise the coast line of central Italy would be at the mercy of any nation possessing Dalmatia.

WILSON'S PROPOSAL ON SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

PARIS, January 22.

The full text of the official communication issued by the supreme council this afternoon reads:

"The President of the United States, the prime ministers and the foreign ministers of the allied and associated powers, and the Japanese representatives met at the Quai d'Orsay between 3 and 5.30 this afternoon and approved the proposal of President Wilson, which reads as follows:

"The single object the representatives of the associated powers have had in mind in their discussions of the course they should pursue with regard to Russia has been to help the Russian people—not to hinder them or to interfere in any manner with their right to settle their own affairs in their own way.

RUSSIAN PEOPLE FRIENDS.

"They regard the Russian people as their friends, not their enemies, and are willing to help them in any way they are willing to be helped. It is clear to them that the troubles and distrust of the Russian people will steadily increase, hunger and privation of every kind become more and more acute, more and more widespread, and more and more impossible to relieve unless order is restored and normal conditions of labor, trade, and transportation once more created, and they are seeking some way in which to assist the Russian people to establish order.

"They recognize the absolute right of the Russian people to direct their own affairs without dictation or direction of any kind from outside. They do not wish to exploit or make use of Russia in any way.

RECOGNIZE REVOLUTION.

"They recognize the revolution without reservation and will in no way and in no circumstances aid or give countenance to any attempt at a counterrevolution.

"It is not their wish or purpose to favor or assist any one of the organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia as against the others. Their sole and sincere purpose is to do what they can to bring Russia peace and an opportunity to find her way out of her present troubles.

"The associated powers are now engaged in the solemn and responsible work of establishing the peace of Europe and of the world, and they are keenly alive to the fact that Europe and the world can not be at peace if Russia is not. They recognize and accept it as a duty to serve Russia as generously, as unselfishly, as thoughtfully, as ungrudgingly as they would serve any other friend and ally, and they are ready to render this service in the way that is most acceptable to the Russian people.

INVITE ALL FACTIONS.

In this spirit and with this purpose they have taken the following action: They invite every organized group that is now exercising or attempting to exercise political authority or military control anywhere in Siberia, or within the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war just concluded, except in Finland, to send representatives, not exceeding three representatives for each group, to Princes Islands, Sea of Marmora, where they will be met by representatives of the associated powers, provided in the meantime there is a truce of arms amongst the parties invited, and that all armed forces anywhere sent or directed against any people or territory inside the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war, or against Finland, or against any people or territory whose autonomous action is in contemplation in the 14 articles upon which the present negotiations are based, shall be meanwhile withdrawn and aggressive military actions cease.

UNDERSTANDING IS SOUGHT.

"These representatives are invited to confer with the representatives of the associated powers in the freest and frankest way, with a view to ascertain the wishes of all sections of the Russian people and bringing about, if possible, some understanding and agreement by which Russia may work out her own purposes and happy, cooperative relations be established between her people and the other peoples of the world.

"A prompt reply to this invitation is requested. Every facility for the journey of the representatives, including transportation across the Black Sea, will be given by the allies, and all the parties concerned are expected to give the same facilities. The representatives will be expected at the place appointed by the 15th of February, 1919."

Mr. KNOX obtained the floor.

Mr. CALDER. Will the Senator from Pennsylvania yield to me to submit a report from the Committee on Commerce?

Mr. KNOX. I yield for that purpose.

DELAWARE RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. CALDER. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably with an amendment the bill (S. 5354) extending the time for the completion of a bridge across the Delaware River, authorized by an act approved the 24th day of August, 1912, and I submit a report (No. 659) thereon.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill. I do not think there will be any objection to it. It simply extends the limit of time for the construction of the bridge, and unless it is passed at this session all the prior construction work will fall. It is a Pennsylvania Railroad bridge over the Delaware River.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The amendment was, on page 2, lines 2, 3, and 4, to strike out the words "an act extending the time for completion of the bridge across the Delaware River," as provided for in the above act, so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the time for the completion of the bridge now in course of construction across the Delaware River, which the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania & Newark Railroad Co., or their successors, were authorized to construct, maintain, and operate by an act entitled "An act to authorize the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania & Newark Railroad Co., or their successors, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Delaware River," approved the 24th day of August, 1912; and for which the time of completion thereof was extended until the 24th day of August, 1919, by an act approved the 27th day of December, 1916, be, and the same is hereby, extended for a period of three years, from the 24th day of August, 1919: *Provided*, That in all other respects said bridge shall be completed and shall be maintained and operated in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

Sec. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill extending the time for the completion of the bridge across the Delaware River, authorized by an act entitled 'An act to authorize the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania & Newark Railroad Co., or their successors, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Delaware River,' approved the 24th day of August, 1912."

FOOD SUPPLIES FOR EUROPE.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 13708) providing for the relief of such populations in Europe and countries contiguous thereto, outside of Germany, as may be determined upon by the President as necessary.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President, I wish to say only a word in relation to the pending bill. I confess in all my legislative experience I have never been quite so perplexed or found it quite so difficult to make up my mind as to what my duty in the circumstances was. The manner in which this proposition has been presented to Congress has been so inadequate, so vague, and so difficult of clarification that it is hard to feel willing to support it. Still greater, however, would be my unwillingness to fail to vote for a measure, especially a measure for joint action by the allied Governments, agreed upon by the inter-allied council, that, properly clarified and properly carried out, should subserve their common aims in the war. I have, therefore, concluded to cast my vote in favor of the appropriation asked.

My difficulty in reaching this conclusion has been greatly increased by a very grave anxiety as to the possibility of poverty, suffering, and unemployment in our own country, which it is our first duty to prevent, and also by the stupendous taxation it is proposed to impose upon accumulations already depleted and receding under the burden of previous tax levies.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll. The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hitchcock	Moses	Smith, S. C.
Bankhead	Hollis	Myers	Smoot
Borah	Johnson, Cal.	Nelson	Spencer
Brandegge	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nugent	Sterling
Calder	Jones, Wash.	Penrose	Swanson
Chamberlain	Kellogg	Pittman	Thompson
Colt	Kenyon	Poinceter	Townsend
Culberson	Kirby	Pollock	Trammell
Curtis	Knox	Saulsbury	Wadsworth
France	La Follette	Shafroth	Walsh
Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Sheppard	Warren
Gay	McKellar	Sherman	Watson
Hale	McNary	Smith, Ariz.	Weeks
Harding	Martin, Ky.	Smith, Ga.	Williams
Henderson	Martin, Va.	Smith, Mich.	Wolcott

Mr. CURTIS. I am requested to announce the absence of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PAGE], and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. GROENKA] on official business.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I desire to announce that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANDELL], the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER], and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] are absent on business of the Senate.

Mr. FRANCE. I desire to announce the absence of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] and of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM] on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Sixty Senators have answered to their names. A quorum of the Senate is present.

Mr. COLT. Mr. President, I desire in a very few words to give my reasons for supporting the pending bill.

The bill has a double aspect. It may be viewed as strictly a relief measure or it may be viewed as a war measure. I am of the opinion that fundamentally it is a war measure, and I will give my reasons why I have reached this conclusion.

The reconstruction of the map of Europe is necessarily involved in reaching the terms of peace. That arises from the fact that the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Russia have been broken into fragments. Now, it is the purpose to reconstruct the map of Europe on the basis of nationalism; in other words, that the liberated nations which have been freed by the war shall be recognized as independent States and become members of the family of nations. This is the only plan upon which the reconstruction of Europe can be based and the future peace of the world secured.

Now, we find that in these freed nationalities anarchy exists in a large degree; that Bolshevism in an insidious form has spread into these territories; and, further, we find that this is due to a large extent to the deprivation of food to a condition

bordering on starvation. We know also that peace can never be attained until these liberated nationalities are enabled to establish a stable form of government. In other words, we can not proceed further in settling the terms of peace in the present chaotic condition of Europe. There must arise out of this chaotic condition orderly and stable governments founded upon the principle of nationality before we can settle upon the terms of peace.

Now, what is the great obstacle which stands in the way of these States attaining a position of stable government? It is the food question. The only road to orderly government, according to the consensus of opinion of the world, is through the granting of food relief to these freed nationalities. If this be true, then it is only a temporary obstacle which confronts the peace conference to-day, and this obstacle—although it is an important one—can be removed by granting the relief called for by this bill.

It is declared by the President of the United States and by the supreme war council at Paris that food relief is the key to the whole peace problem. Shall we ignore that opinion? If food relief is the key to the peace problem, how can any Senator say that this is not strictly a war measure?

Mr. President, we are not alone with regard to this relief. It is not a proposition coming from us. Oh, no; it comes from our allies. If France, with the economic burdens of four years of war upon her shoulders, if Italy and Great Britain, laboring under similar conditions, are willing to furnish \$200,000,000 under these circumstances, will the United States of America refuse to join her allies in this most important step?

Have we reached a time, Mr. President, when we wish to break with our allies, and is this the entering wedge? Oh, I beg Senators to rise to the fact that this is a world war; that we are taking part in a new world order to save civilization and to secure a just and lasting peace. The United States of America has played a most important part in this great drama. Shall we not, Mr. President, see this great enterprise through to the end? Are we going to falter in taking this necessary step in the interest of peace? Are we going to refuse to join our allies in this movement, which they consider as absolutely necessary in order to obtain peace? Are not, Mr. President, the honor of America, our good faith, our position before the world and in the family of nations at stake in this pending bill? I firmly believe that they are.

Oh, when I think of the part that America has played in this, the greatest crisis in the world's history, when I think of her leadership, when I think of the position she occupies to-day, when I realize that she has risen to the highest rank of any nation in the civilized world, I say do not stop now, do not move backward, do not descend from our high plane of nationalism, internationalism, civilization, and liberty.

Mr. President, one word more. It has been asserted that there are constitutional objections to this measure. I do not share in this view. Congress has power to declare war. Congress has power to pass any legislation that is necessary to bring that war to a successful close. Congress has power to pass any legislation which will secure peace; and this legislation plainly and unmistakably is designed to secure peace. In fact, Mr. President, I believe it to be true that unless this relief is granted and similar relief is extended by the allies, it will be impossible to settle the momentous peace problems in the present chaotic condition of the great empires which this war has overthrown.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I want to say just a few words to add my protest to those made this morning by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] against any sort or degree of recognition by the prevailing nations of the world of the Soviet government of Russia, or the Bolsheviks of Russia, which are one and the same.

I am greatly surprised and keenly disappointed that the powers in conference at Paris would consider entering into any negotiations with those people, or recognizing them in any way whatever, or consenting to meet with them on a common plane, even for discussion. I regret beyond expression that they have so consented. The Bolsheviks of Russia, who constitute the Soviet government of Russia, are murderers, thieves, robbers, highwaymen, assassins, rapists, criminals of the worst type. They openly indorse and daily practice every known form of criminality, and I believe they have invented some forms of criminality hitherto unknown. They are the worst criminals the world has ever known. I believe they are even worse than the Germans. They have abolished God. They have declared there is no God. They have declared war on all churches and religions. They have abolished marriage. They have decreed free love. They have decreed that hereafter all women of Russia shall be kept in common, for the common and promiscuous sexual use of all men of Russia, and that all children are to be

raised by the State, just like a lot of cattle or pigs are raised by their owner. No child in the future is to know who is its father. All children are to be the wards of the State, to be raised and cared for by the State, and educated in the principles of the Russian Bolsheviks. The home, the fireside, marriage ties, are abolished.

Such doctrines to me are absolutely shocking, repulsive, horrible, and repugnant to my sense of justice, right, and morality; repulsive to every instinct of decency; and I do not believe in extending any recognition whatever to such people. I do not believe they are worthy of it. I do not want any association with such people. I do not think they are entitled to any recognition or consideration; and I am greatly surprised and inexpressibly disappointed that the powers in conference at Paris have consented to deal with them or to recognize them, even in a preliminary way. That act will bring joy to the heart of every I. W. W., every anarchist, every pro-German, every enemy of organized society in the United States. It will cause them to take fresh hope and courage. It will greatly embolden them, and cause them to renew and pursue with increased ardor and determination their efforts, their meetings, their conspiracies, their organization, their plots to overthrow this Government and to overthrow all organized society. They will take new life, hope, and energy. I shall be very sorry if the representatives of the Soviet government of Russia are to be admitted to the peace conference in France or to be considered in any way whatever. In my opinion it would be a blow to orderly government, law and order, civilization, society.

I believe the theory of recognizing such people is radically wrong and inherently improper, and for one I take my stand and set my face against it. Crime should be punished, not recognized or rewarded. Eternal justice demands the punishment of crime. The immutable laws of God demand it; and this world can not be a fit place in which to live unless there is to be some punishment for crime. Criminals should be punished, not taken in arms.

The people of Russia are entitled to no consideration by the prevailing powers of the world. The people of Russia played the part of Benedict Arnold in the European war. At the supreme crisis, when their allies were in dire distress and facing the greatest emergency in the cause for which they were fighting, the people of Russia turned traitor and played the part of Benedict Arnold and deserted their allies, who were fighting for Russia as well as for themselves, and they are entitled to no consideration whatever from the prevailing powers. In my opinion they should be ignored, and especially and all the more so since they have turned to an absolutely criminal form of government, a government which puts a premium on crime, puts crime above honesty, puts infamy above decency, puts anarchy above civilization, and would tear down everything for which the civilization of the world now stands.

I shall be greatly disappointed if the representatives of that sort of people are permitted to enter into any negotiations in regard to the treaty of peace about to be framed or to be heard in any way whatever at the peace conference. If so, I think it will be radically wrong and violative of every principle for which the United States and the entente allies fought and won this war. For one I am against it and can not look upon it with complacency.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out, after the word "statement," in line 8, page 2, the words "for which expended" and to insert the words "of such receipts and expenditures made."

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, that does not change an amendment which I offered in the Committee on Appropriations and which was accepted by the committee, but it does clarify the language, and I think it should be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will say to the Senator from Massachusetts that the proposed amendment is to an amendment already adopted. The Chair supposes it will be necessary to reconsider the vote by which that amendment was adopted.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, I move its reconsideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the reconsideration is agreed to.

Mr. WEEKS. I now offer the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In the committee amendment already agreed to it is proposed to strike out the words "for which expended"

and in lieu thereof to insert the words "of such receipts and expenditures made," so that, if amended, it will read:

Provided further, That a report of the receipts, expenditures, and an itemized statement of such receipts and expenditures made under this appropriation shall be submitted to Congress not later than the first day of the next regular session.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, that is simply to make clear an amendment heretofore adopted; and I ask that it may be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the adoption of the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, just a few words in explanation of my vote in favor of this bill.

The debate has taken a very wide range, and many subjects not exactly germane to the proposition involved have been discussed. I sympathize to a very large extent with much of the criticism, either express or implied, that has been made during the course of this discussion—criticism of governmental or, perhaps, to be more accurate, administration policies; criticism of the policies of various departments and bureaus of the Government. But, Mr. President, we have before us here a distinct proposition as to whether we shall appropriate \$100,000,000 for the purpose of giving relief to the starving and destitute in Europe; not to all of the starving and destitute in Europe, but to those who may be reckoned among our friends; largely to those of proposed new nationalities, as the Czechoslovaks and as the people of Poland are supposed to be.

Mr. President, I think we ought to look at the proposition from two aspects: First, the appeal itself, or the form of the appeal, or from whom the appeal comes; and, secondly, the cause for which the appeal is made. On that point I refer to the RECORD and to two or three statements found in the RECORD.

From one of the cablegrams, printed in the RECORD of January 18, I read these words:

Bolshevism is steadily advancing westward, has overwhelmed Poland, and is poisoning Germany. It can not be stopped by force, but it can be stopped by food, and all the leaders with whom I am in conference agree that concerted action in this matter is of immediate and vital importance. The money will not be spent for food for Germany itself, because Germany can buy its food, but it will be spent for financing the movement of food to our real friends in Poland and to the people of the liberated units of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and to our associates in the Balkans. I beg that you will present this matter with all possible urgency and force to the Congress.

These are the words of the President of the United States. Whether we wish it or not, he is our representative now in France for the purposes of the peace conference.

Further, and at another place in the cablegram:

The situation is one of extreme urgency, for foodstuffs must be placed in certain localities within the next 15 or 30 days if human life and order are to be preserved. I therefore request that you should ask Congress to make available to me an immediate appropriation of \$100,000,000 for the broad purpose of providing foodstuffs and other urgent supplies.

This also is the language of the President.

Then, from another cablegram I read:

The British are already furnishing from Army stocks food and clothing relief to Serbia and Syria; the Italians to south Austria.

I suppose it is in that portion of Austria where those of Italian nationality are to be found; and they, therefore, are our friends as well as the friends of Italy and the other allies.

The British and French are advancing the money for transport Belgian relief. Allies are willing and anxious to do all they can, and have and will contribute to the full extent of their resources, but must be borne in mind that most of the food must be purchased in the United States, and American money would be used for such purchase and transportation.

This is from a cablegram sent by the American mission.

So, Mr. President, there is the record, or a part of it. Supplementary to this record are the statements made by the chairman of the committee having the bill in charge to the effect that the record as made is the result of conferences and understandings between the representatives of our Government, of which Mr. Hoover is the head, and the representatives of other Governments appointed for the purpose of considering the question of food supply and distribution and affording relief to the hungry and starving outside of Germany.

That being the record, Mr. President, how can I vote against this measure? View as we please the position in which it might place the President of the United States, who makes this urgent appeal, if we should deny it, or the position in which it would place the American mission to the peace conference, or the embarrassment it may cause Mr. Hoover or the representatives associated with him upon the commission to furnish this food supply, the question is whether it does not go further than that

and reflect upon the American Nation to refuse or deny this appeal.

I am not so much concerned, Mr. President, whether the \$100,000,000 to be appropriated is to be a revolving fund or whether it is to be given as charity. I believe it will be administered where it is needed, and administered in such a way as to help our friends in Poland, in Bohemia, in Austria-Hungary, or elsewhere outside the German Empire or what once was the German Empire.

I think, Mr. President, that the appropriation will be in the interest of peace. The war is not yet over. Peace terms have not been signed. Complications, and desperate complications, may arise out of conditions such as have been described in the matter of food supplies or the want of them. So whether it be a matter of charity or whether it be a matter of policy and expediency I think the appropriation can be supported on either ground and that it will be in the interest of permanent peace.

It is for these reasons, Mr. President, that I shall support the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is still in Committee of the Whole and open to amendment. If there be no further amendment as in Committee of the Whole, the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended.

Mr. BORAH. I ask that the vote may be taken by yeas and nays on the passage of the bill.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hollis	New	Smith, Mich.
Bankhead	Johnson, Cal.	Nugent	Smoot
Borah	Johnson, S. Dak.	Overman	Spencer
Brandeggee	Jones, Wash.	Penrose	Sterling
Chamberlain	Kenyon	Pittman	Swanson
Coff	Kirby	Poinexter	Thompson
Culberson	La Follette	Pollock	Trammell
Cummins	Lenroot	Pomerene	Wadsworth
Curtis	McKellar	Ransdell	Walsh
Fletcher	McNary	Saulsbury	Warren
Frelinghuysen	Martin, Va.	Shafroth	Watson
Gerry	Moses	Sheppard	Williams
Harding	Myers	Sherman	Wolcott
Hitchcock	Nelson	Smith, Ariz.	

Mr. SAULSBURY. The senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is still necessarily detained from the Senate. He is not yet well enough to attend the sessions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-five Senators having answered to their names, a quorum of the Senate is present.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, before a vote is had upon the bill, I want to put in the RECORD a telegram or two as indicating the sources from which comes at least a part of the support that is putting this measure through the Senate. I think the American people, who are the chief parties in interest, are entitled to be much better advised than they are at present of the purposes of this appropriation in the minds of those who are among its most active champions and advocates.

There has been something said already in the discussion of the bill as to the views of Mr. Hoover with reference to the effect of the bill in stabilizing the market of the world in food products. The food products are held in large surplus quantities by certain food dealers in this country and in Europe. The war demands have to a large extent come to an end and they are confronted by a fall of prices, and consequently of the value, of the enormous stores of food which have been accumulated with a view of the demands of war.

I make this assertion, and propose to substantiate it by what seems to me to be sufficient evidence, that the most energetic and virile influence that is promoting the passage of this bill is a desire upon the part of those interested in building the market in food supplies in order that they may not lose the profits which they had expected to make out of the war. I am going to substantiate it by some witnesses who are parties in the case and whose testimony under every rule of law must be accepted as the truth. When a witness testifies against his own interest his testimony is accepted by the court without a question.

Here is a telegram signed John B. Gordon, a great name. I have met Mr. Gordon and I asked him if he was a relative of the great warrior and orator and statesman, John B. Gordon, of Georgia. He told me that he was a grandson of John B. Gordon, who was a cousin of Gen. John B. Gordon.

Mr. John B. Gordon, who writes this telegram, is an employee or official of the Shell Oil Co. He tells me that the Shell Oil Co. is interested in the price of pork products because the price of pork products is the fundamental factor in the market which regulates the price of oil. The Senator from New Hampshire

[Mr. MOSES] says to me that the Shell Oil Co. is a foreign corporation. I am very glad that he interpolated that remark as indicating to what an extent foreign corporations which have large business interests in the United States are concerned in the passage of this bill.

The telegram is dated New York, January 22, 1919:

Note New York newspapers' Associated Press reports several Senators opposing bill appropriating \$100,000,000 for European famine relief. Regret to note these Senators, while undoubtedly actuated by best motives, are in each instance advocating a course of procedure which will work great specific injury to certain classes of their constituents and great general injury to the country at large.

This telegram is transcribed in that miserable style in which the word "stop" or "period" is interpolated throughout, as though one did not know how to punctuate a telegram. It disturbs, somewhat, its continuity.

United States Senator GORE would cause great financial loss to the patriotic hog raiser of Oklahoma, who under stimulus of urgings of Food Administration and United States Department of Agriculture raised a large surplus of hogs, which surplus will have to be marketed at a loss if the \$100,000,000 food relief bill does not go through. Senator HARDWICK, of Georgia, would work great injury upon the farmers of Georgia, who have produced large acreages of peanuts, and upon crude cotton seed and peanut mills of Georgia, who have purchased cottonseed and peanuts from the farmers of Georgia upon basis of stabilized prices, because there exists a surplus of vegetable oils in the United States which must be removed by European demand. America is overstocked and can not absorb the abnormal surplus which accumulated in response to the appeals of the allies. United States Senator JOHNSON, of California, would bring upon his constituents engaged in the importation and crushing of corn and other oil seeds and the importation of coconut oil great financial loss, because these vegetable oils must compete with cottonseed oil, and if the \$100,000,000 food relief bill does not pass the stabilized price of 17½ cents per pound for crude cottonseed oil can not be sustained, because the surplus of cottonseed oil is too great for the American consuming trade to absorb. If cotton seed becomes cheap, then all other vegetable oils must, perforce, become cheap. The honorable Senators from Pennsylvania and Ohio, PENROSE and HARDING—

Evidently he is mistaken about the name of the Senator—

who advocate the cause of the American laboring man would work him grave injury, because, as Senator HARDWICK himself has said, high wages can not be paid the American laboring man if food and general commodity prices are suddenly lowered. There exists in the United States at the present time a great surplus of food products built up by the farmers and producers and purchased in part from those producers by holders who paid prices based upon the established valuation placed upon various food commodities by the United States Food Administration, and so interwoven and interlocked are the interests of every farmer and food producer and manufacturer and importer of foods that if injury befalls one that it will affect each and every other member of the great food industry. For instance, if low prices for hogs prevail, then low prices for corn must prevail, and if low prices for corn prevail it follows that wheat must be cheaper, and so on. If the honorable Senators who oppose this bill would seek by true remedial efforts to improve the condition of the American laboring man and remove from American markets the menacing surplus of food products which exists they would immediately agitate a very low rate of freight to Europe in order that American merchants may sell the surplus to Europe and South America in competition with England, which is now combing the world for food supplies. The United States Railroad Administration reveals by its latest report that traffic over American railroads is lessening alarmingly month by month. This shows that unless America is relieved of its surplus of all commodities that the wheels of industry will become gradually stilled and that American industry, the American farmer, and the American food producers, and indirectly the American laborer, in place of receiving great prosperity from after-war trade, as anticipated, will instead receive only misery because of the superabundance of all supplies now in American markets. High prices must prevail until the accumulated surpluses are disposed of at the prices which have prevailed. In the food industry at the present time demoralization prevails. The retailers will not buy because they anticipate lower prices. Producers are therefore overstocked with high-priced goods which they can not sell at lower prices without great financial loss. If the views of the writer as set forth are not clearly enough defined, or if you desire further information, will be glad to come to Washington and again discuss food matters with you in its general phases, for, as previously assured you, we do not look at the situation from a selfish angle, even though our industry will be ruined if present stabilized prices do not prevail, but view the matter broadly, realizing the great significance of pending measures to the future prosperity of our country.

JOHN B. GORDON.

I have no criticism to make of the writer of the telegram, nor of the interests he represents.

I have no doubt, Mr. President, that he speaks the sentiment and represents the concerted action of other great interests which are concerned in food products which are to be purchased by this great revolving fund to be taken out of the Treasury and that he is acting in entire good faith and, from his standpoint, for a perfectly legitimate purpose. I have no doubt he believes, as he says, that he is actuated by no selfish motives, notwithstanding the fact that he says if this bill does not pass and the prices go down his industry will be ruined. I have no doubt at all that the writer of this telegram, like many other men who have been absorbed in commercial enterprises, who have had no opportunity to give attention or study to the relations of the Government to the people, the functions and purposes for which the Government is established, believes it is a perfectly legitimate function of Congress to appropriate money out of the Treasury of the United States in order to keep these

firms and the other interests he mentions from losing upon their investment. That is the proposition which he makes openly. There is no secrecy about it. He undoubtedly thinks he is advancing a patriotic purpose.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. May I ask the Senator, because I did not observe when he first referred to the telegram, from whom the telegram comes, and who is the sender, and what is his business relationship?

Mr. POINDEXTER. John B. Gordon is his name. He is an official of the Shell Oil Co., one of the greatest oil companies in the world, having very large interests in the Orient and in the United States, and a greater concern, I understand, than the Standard Oil Co.

Mr. BORAH. Did the Senator state to whom the telegram is addressed?

Mr. POINDEXTER. It is addressed to me.

It would be very unfortunate if, through a failure to pass this bill, as the writer says, the price of peanuts in Georgia should be lowered for the lack merely of a \$100,000,000 appropriation. He says, and evidently he believes, that it is entirely within the functions of Congress to appropriate \$100,000,000 out of the Treasury, to use the writer's language, "in order to prevent great financial loss to the patriotic hog raisers of Oklahoma."

Mr. President, to show that this is not just an isolated telegram or a mere incidental act upon the part of an individual, I will read another telegram from the opposite end of the country. I have not the slightest doubt that telegrams of that kind are being sent by various firms through a concerted movement of the kind with which Senators are perfectly familiar.

This is a telegram from Seattle, Wash., which I received this morning. It is signed by the North Pacific Millers' Association, Mr. W. C. Tiffany, secretary. This is a very high-class and entirely reputable organization engaged in one of the great standard industries of the country. But they apparently have, from my standpoint, rather unsound views as to the powers and functions of Congress and the grounds upon which money can be taken out of the Treasury and used to maintain the general level of prices. They say:

Referring to bill making appropriation for food supply now under discussion, we beg to call your attention to the fact that it is very essential that this bill be passed, from the standpoint of the Pacific Northwest. There are about 8,000,000 bushels of wheat in Government reserve storage warehouses on Puget Sound and Columbia River, and a considerably larger quantity in the hands of dealers and farmers which must be moved either as wheat or flour, preferably the latter, so as to make room for anticipated new crop. Farmers, grain dealers, millers all interested in having this appropriation passed promptly. May we not have your cooperation?

NORTH PACIFIC MILLERS' ASSOCIATION,
By W. C. TIFFANY, Secretary.

The millers' association says that the farmers, grain dealers, and millers are all interested. I think probably it is millers in which the writer is more especially interested.

My purpose in reading that telegram, Mr. President, is not to cast any reflection upon the millers' association. My own views as to the functions of the Senate are that we have not any authority to appropriate money to maintain the price of flour, even though it may be a desirable object in itself. Whether it is desirable or not desirable, I do not express an opinion at this time. My purpose in reading this telegram is that, whatever its merits may be, the public, or those of them who can be reached by action or information in the Senate or in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, may have an opportunity of knowing some of the reasons for which \$100,000,000 of extraordinary taxes are to be levied upon them.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I yield.

Mr. BORAH. Will it interrupt the Senator if I should read another statement in connection with his statement or his telegrams on that subject?

Mr. POINDEXTER. Not at all. I shall be very glad to have the Senator read it.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I read the statement, as follows:

We also at this time, because of the stimulation of the production of hogs throughout the hog-producing sections of the country, have accumulated in the hands of the packers, by reason of the run on hogs at this particular time of the year, a large surplus that we must work off as we can to Europe, and one of the purposes of Mr. Hoover has been, if possible, to provide a safe and regular drain of such edibles as fats, oils, and cereals that we have a surplus of to Europe.

That is the statement of Mr. Glasgow, who represents Mr. Hoover himself during his absence in Europe.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President, I am very glad that the Senator from Idaho has read that statement. I read into the RECORD the other day an extract from a telegram from Mr. Hoover, in which he stated that one of the prime objects of the appropriation was to relieve the congestion in the accumulation of food supplies. The Senator from Virginia shakes his head, but I refer to the RECORD.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I shook my head, Mr. President, because I read every telegram that came from Mr. Hoover, or I thought I did, and I have never seen such a statement in any of those telegrams.

Mr. POINDEXTER. If I could lay my hand on the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the date on which the Senator from Virginia introduced telegrams from Mr. Hoover, I would read it again. I once read it in the Senate.

I have here also some telegrams of a different character, as to the need of funds for a purpose very different from that of maintaining the market in peanuts and hogs or of bulging the price of flour, or wheat, or of meat products. I will read them—they are brief—because there was some controversy here the other day as to whether or not the Government had neglected its soldiers who were being demobilized. It is very far from my purpose to indulge in any superheated representations upon that subject, which I know is one which appeals to the sympathies of the people, but it is an undoubted fact that we have been negligent in the matter of providing means for the returning to their homes and the clothing and feeding of soldiers as they are being demobilized. I present a telegram from Seattle, Wash., dated January 24, as follows:

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

What is prospect of early action by Congress to provide adequate funds for men released from military service? Referring to previous appeals on subject, Seattle Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club is anxious to see legislation which will insure men coming out of Army and Navy sufficient resources to reestablish themselves. Situation now serious and should be remedied without delay.

A. H. RHODES,
President Seattle Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club.

I present another telegram, dated Seattle, Wash., January 22, which is addressed to my colleague [Mr. JONES], Representatives JOHN F. MILLER, ALBERT JOHNSON, L. H. HADLEY, and myself, as follows:

SEATTLE, WASH., January 23, 1919.

MILES C. POINDEXTER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

To MILES C. POINDEXTER and WESLEY L. JONES, Senators, and JOHN F. MILLER, ALBERT JOHNSON, and L. H. HADLEY, Representatives: Company A, One hundred and sixty-first Infantry auxiliary protest against the inexcusable delay in payment of soldiers and discharged men and allotments. Many instances among our own men of four to eight months' delay works great hardship; influence very bad; some prompt action must be taken; reds making use of Government's neglect.

FRANK STEELE,
R. W. DODGE,
LOUIS H. LEGG.

I present another telegram on the same subject:

SEATTLE, WASH., January 20, 1919.

Senator MILES POINDEXTER,
Washington, D. C.

Delay in granting bonuses to discharged soldiers and sailors is becoming unbearable and unexplainable to all citizens with adequate sense of shame, decency, and square dealing. Civic and patriotic organizations of Seattle, representation of 20,000 citizens, urge you to every effort for immediate results. If you can not force action on pending legislation with this in view, amend any appropriation bill under consideration so as to pay every man a bonus of not less than \$300 when he is discharged. No excuse for delay, every reason for quick action. Our own men's dependents more deserving than foreigners for whom \$100,000,000 is asked.

THOMAS P. REVELLE,
ROBERT L. PROCTOR,
GUSS CASEKY.

Mr. President, as to whether or not our great allies in Europe have welcomed the activities of the American Food Administrator in the matter of the distribution of these funds and of the food to be purchased with them, on which great store has been placed by advocates of the bill, I call attention to a dispatch published in a reliable newspaper in New York—the New York Globe—dated at Paris, December 21, 1918:

A month and a half has elapsed since the armistice was signed, and nothing has been accomplished toward revictualing the populations of Poland, Austria, and Germany.

The difficulty in this matter has been an important detail of organization of an almost personal character. There has been a tendency to sidetrack the old international war committees, which during three years have efficiently assisted in the revictualment of the allied nations in different products.

They are composed (meaning these committees) of men of different nationalities who have worked together and acquired a knowledge of the situation and the resources of Europe.

Their cooperation would be invaluable not only in working out a system for food supply to central and eastern Europe but generally in the negotiations on the settlement of peace problems.

France, Great Britain, and Italy have found these commissions excellent means for negotiations.

The idea of the American authorities has been to abolish these commissions, thus obliterating an important means of understanding between the United States and her allies.

These commissions have prepared a plan for revictualing Poland, Austria, and Germany. This plan was thrust aside by the American food controller.

These propositions (meaning the ones just preceding this) were refused on the ground that such interference was unnecessary, and that the surplus food supplies of the world being American, America should have the whole credit and the single management.

The allies answered that this surplus food of the world was not wholly in the United States; that large supplies of wheat in Australia, South America, and the Ukraine, as well as other supplies elsewhere, were now available. In other words, the allies desired to retain the interallied war organization as a medium of better understanding.

Senators have read numerous dispatches indicating the controversy that occurred in Europe after Mr. Hoover's arrival there, as to whether he should be given undivided control of the distribution of food in Europe, and, instead of this proposition tending toward harmony and unity of action among our great allies and ourselves, it is said to have been the cause of disagreement, of estrangement, and, unfortunately, of more or less ill feeling.

The statements of reputable and prominent newspaper correspondents have been published in leading papers of this country to the effect that the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy were of the opinion that the insistence of Mr. Hoover in supplanting the food commissions of those countries, which, as stated in the dispatch from which I have just read, had demonstrated their efficiency by the service which they had rendered, was a commercial purpose; that, from their standpoint, his motive was, by expending this money and distributing this food through a United States food controller in the various countries of Europe, to give to the United States the benefit of the good will, the acquaintance, and the trade which would be acquired by the transaction. They looked upon it as an attempt to commercialize a great transaction which was carried forward under the holy name of charity.

Those are some of the circumstances, Mr. President, which surround this insistent demand for an unusual appropriation, and I thought that the American people were entitled to have the information.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOLLIS in the chair). The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Virginia if he would not think it wise to add, after the name "United States," in lines 3 and 4, the following. I will read the sentence, beginning at line 3, where the language is:

That for the participation of the Government of the United States—

Then add:

in agreement with those governments with which the United States is associated in war.

The reason I ask the Senator in charge of the bill that question is because many Senators believe that there is an agreement between the allies and ourselves with reference to this fund. If there is an agreement, I am very glad; if there is no agreement, I think that there ought to be one. Therefore, after the words "United States," in line 4 of the bill, I think it should read:

For the participation by the Government of the United States in agreement with those governments with which the United States is associated in war.

That, I think, would emphasize the construction placed upon the program by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX], and others. Why should not that language be added?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator from Michigan will suspend for a moment, the Chair will state that the question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole. The Senator's amendment would not now be in order, but it would be in order as soon as the amendments which have been made as in Committee of the Whole are concurred in.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I think the predecessor of the present Presiding Officer held that the bill is in the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is in the Senate, but the first question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Then the amendment of the Senator from Michigan will be in order.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It can take that course.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I hope those amendments will be submitted separately.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is in doubt as to the question of submitting the amendments separately unless previous notice has been given as to their reservation for a separate vote in the Senate.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I shall not insist on it, except that I want the matter put to the Senate without it being stated that "without objection, the amendments are concurred in." I want the question submitted to the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole. [Putting the question. After a pause.] The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I suggest the absence of a quorum, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum being suggested, the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Johnson, S. Dak.	Myers	Smoot
Bankhead	Jones, Wash.	Nelson	Spencer
Beckham	Kenyon	New	Sterling
Calder	King	Nugent	Swanson
Colt	Kirby	Overman	Thompson
Culberson	La Follette	Penrose	Trammell
Curtis	Lenroot	PoinDEXTER	Underwood
Fletcher	Lewis	Pomerene	Wadsworth
Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Ransdell	Walsh
Gay	McKellar	Saulsbury	Warren
Hale	McLean	Shafroth	Watson
Harding	McNary	Sheppard	Weeks
Henderson	Martin, Ky.	Simmons	Wolcott
Hollis	Martin, Va.	Smith, Ariz.	
Johnson, Cal.	Moses	Smith, Mich.	

Mr. CURTIS. I desire to announce the absence of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. GRONNA] on business of the Senate.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. BAIRD] on account of illness.

Mr. LEWIS. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is detained by illness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-eight Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I understand the question now before the Senate is on concurring in the amendments made to the bill as in Committee of the Whole.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Upon that a vive voce vote was taken, whereupon a quorum was called. The Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] asked to have a separate vote on each amendment. I am not clear in my own mind as to just what the amendments are. In some of those amendments I think there are limitations and extensions of the provisions of this bill. For instance, I think there is an amendment that precludes our devoting any of this charity, if it is a charity, to any of the people of the central powers or their allies. I think I am right about that, and that such an amendment has been adopted.

I do not think it will be a very popular thing to say, but I am going to say that if we are going to treat this as a charitable, generous, and kindly proceeding, I think these limitations reflect a very narrow and revengeful spirit. If I had my way about it, I would strike out the words "outside of Germany." I do not understand how our Government can go out to relieve starvation and distress and in the appropriation bill fix such words of limitation.

One of the most humane things done by the French after the armistice was to take food to the starving children of Austria-Hungary. I think, if my memory serves me right, that 1,000 carloads of food were sent to these misguided people.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly.

Mr. POINDEXTER. My recollection is that that was done under the administration of Mr. Hoover, and not under that of the French.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I think not—

Mr. POINDEXTER. Just one word. If the Senator refers to the carloads which were shipped from Switzerland into Austria-Hungary, the information which was printed in regard to that stated that it was done under the direction of Mr. Hoover by arrangement with the Swiss Government.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not care who did it; it was done under the guardianship of French soldiers and under the French flag; and it was most generous and distinctly creditable. Lincoln would have done it; Grant was equally generous with his vanquished foe at Appomattox.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. I have been engaged in a conference on the revenue bill and have just recently come into the Chamber. The amendment referred to by the Senator from Michigan, I will say, was put on at my suggestion. I think it is a sound amendment. I think our first duty is to help the starving people who were reduced to starvation by the people I exclude by my amendment. I think there is a broad distinction between starving friends and starving enemies in a case like this.

I think we should take care of distress in our own country before we begin to feed Germans and Turks. I carefully left in the Armenians, the Syrians, and the Greeks—I enumerated them—and all the Jewish and Christian populations under Turkish sovereignty. All I excluded there were the Turks. I further excluded Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria, because I do not think the time has yet come to feed them. I want, first, to feed the people whom they brought to starvation, and when that is done, if there is money left, we can feed the others.

I wanted also, I may say to Senators, to save and help this bill and not carry it beyond the point at which Senators can vote for it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am not criticizing the Senator from Massachusetts. I find myself in accord with him most of the time. What I dislike about it is to read into a statute an affirmative limitation of that character when it is not necessary.

Mr. LODGE. There was already a limitation in the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; therefore the amendment of the Senator was appropriate, and I would strike out the House provision.

Mr. LODGE. Does the Senator mean that he would feed the Germans, too?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Not necessarily; but I would leave that to the President in his discretion. Can we not trust him? The bill reads:

and countries contiguous thereto, outside of Germany, as may be determined upon by the President from time to time.

I would leave it to the President to determine from time to time. In other words, I dislike very much to chisel into the statute a limitation which in future years may come back to plague us. Our first consideration should be for our own people whose Government we represent; then if there are starving children anywhere and we can feed them it will be to our everlasting credit to do so.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, may I suggest to the Senator that any limitation which we put on the statute will not disturb Mr. Hoover one particle.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am not thinking about Mr. Hoover. He seems amply able to take care of himself.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. Hoover, who violated the most fundamental principles of the Constitution of this country, will not have very much regard for a statute in Europe.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am not worrying about Mr. Hoover. History may give him his proper credit and his rightful place.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, if the Senator from Michigan will allow me, I entirely agree with the statement of the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH]. I do not think Mr. Hoover will pay the slightest attention to the terms of the statute. He was entirely lawless here. He undertook to abolish by his decree the laws of States, with which he had nothing more to do than the Sultan of Turkey, and he will not regard these limitations. I think, however, for our own purposes, our own good sense, and in deference, I believe, to the wishes of the people of the United States, we had better not begin feeding the Germans and those associated with them in the war.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That may be the view of the people of the United States now, but I wish to tell you that when you write affirmatively into a statute the exclusion of innocent children in any part of the world from our sympathetic consideration you take a very great responsibility. I am not thinking about Mr. Hoover violating the Constitution. I do not expect him to do it; but I am thinking of my vote on this bill and the fact that we are going out on an errand of mercy with bread in one hand and a gun in the other. I am willing the President of the United States shall invest this fund as he may be led to do by the circumstances of the situation. I hope it will be used to relieve hunger and starvation wherever it exists.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an inquiry?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. PENROSE. The Senator has referred to the innocent children of Germany. Would he object to having another hundred million dollars added to this bill to take care of the starving children in America?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I would vote for that.

Mr. PENROSE. Including the children of the great city of New York, who, on account of the high price of milk, are gradually losing their vitality and their strength?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I would vote for that kind of a resolution and to relieve starvation.

Mr. PENROSE. Had the Senator not better vote for that before he votes for this?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I fear I will not have the opportunity, I will say to the Senator.

Mr. PENROSE. Then let him vote against this until he has a chance to vote for the other.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No, Mr. President; I am going to vote for this because I think that the President of the United States has committed our country to it. He is the Commander in Chief and on the ground; the war is not ended; and the President says that this measure of relief is essential to obtain a general peace. Having committed our Government to it by what I call an agreement with the other nations, I refuse to repudiate him when he is at the peace table taking most of the responsibility that grows out of this very unfortunate and yet very serious situation.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit a correction there, the rather time-worn argument of the war for waste and extravagance and the rather overworked argument of "Commander in Chief" for ill-advised projects and chimerical enterprises are in this case supplanted by the argument of "our ambassador and minister plenipotentiary." Mr. Wilson is the ambassador of the United States by his own appointment.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Well, whatever he is, he is President of the United States, and he is the only President we have. I did not help make him President, and I do not approve of very much he has done while he has been President; but I am not going to repudiate him when he is upon foreign soil as the representative of the American people; and I think anything that will tend to wither his arm and lessen his usefulness there will be disgraceful to the American people.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, will the Senator carry that policy so far as to adopt any proposition of a league of nations he may bring back on the theory that he is our President and the only President we have?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No, Mr. President; I do not regard that as imperative or so humane as feeding the starving people of Europe. I am not in accord with a great deal that he is trying to do and has done; but, nevertheless, I think we can not afford to make a serious international blunder. I think this language, "outside of Germany," will come back to plague our country in future years. If we are going to relieve distress, let us do it in a big, broad, charitable, kindly, sympathetic way, and not build hurdles of hatred for future generations to mount.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do.

Mr. POINDEXTER. The Senator spoke of supporting this measure because the President is Commander in Chief. The only thing that is said about "Commander in Chief" in the Constitution is that the President is Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; the war is not over; peace has not been declared.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Now, if the Senator will pardon me just a second, I want to ask him a question. Very often, however, the expression is used here in the Senate as though the Senate were a military organization and subject to the commands of a superior military officer and Commander in Chief.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I sometimes think it is.

Mr. POINDEXTER. One would think so, if the Senator will pardon me, from the remarks he has just made.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. One would think so from the course that the Senate has taken upon most of the legislation demanded by the Executive.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Exactly. I agree with the Senator in that regard; but what I wanted to ask the Senator was this: Does the Senator believe that because the President is Commander in Chief, whatever he is Commander in Chief of, the Senate of the United States has to vote appropriations out of the Public Treasury whenever he tells it to do so?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I do not think so; but it usually does, and this is a poor time and a bad place to stop.

Mr. POINDEXTER. The argument of the Senator was that we ought to support this bill because the President asked for it.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. That is this bill. That is not some other bill. That is this bill. I am talking about this one originating with the interallied war council in France.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I am talking about this one.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. And I am talking about a bill intended to relieve starvation and distress, which the President says is vital to peace and the end of war. That is what I am talking about.

There is a great deal of talk in the Senate Chamber that I do not agree with. I listen to it. I listened this morning to a tirade against Russia with which I entirely disagree. How short the memory of Senators is. Not long ago the Russians with 6,000,000 men upon the eastern front performed a service for mankind for which the world ought to be grateful. The Russians held Germany for months and prevented concentration of her army in France.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. No; I decline to yield. I heard the Senator this morning, and I so thoroughly disagree with him that I do not want to invite any controversy. Senators talk about disorder in Russia. Of course there is disorder; but when there was almost equal disorder here in our own country, and brothers were at the throat of brothers in civil war, it was Russia, with its potential and mighty influence, which helped save the country of Abraham Lincoln from destruction.

Mr. POINDEXTER. Mr. President—

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I am afraid if I yield to the Senator from Washington I will be guilty of invidious discrimination. I did not refuse to yield to the Senator from Montana merely because we were in disagreement; and if I yield to the Senator from Washington of course I am going to yield to the Senator from Montana also.

I yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I join with the distinguished Senator from Michigan in his compliment to the part that Russia played as an ally of Great Britain and France in the early years of the war; but my understanding of the speech of the Senator from Montana this morning was not that he criticized the efforts of Russia in support of the allies. What he was criticizing was the element of the Russian people which got control of the Government and by force, by murder, by brigandage, by loot, by opening the prisons to the desperate criminals that were confined in them and putting guns in their hands, betrayed the Russian people, surrendered a large portion of the Russian territory, and turned over the gold in the public treasury to their German masters and employers. I understand that he was denouncing, not the Russian people who aided the allies but the Bolshevik anarchists who betrayed the allies. Now, I am sure the Senator from Michigan does not like the Bolshevik.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President, I have heard this idle talk around this Chamber for several days. I have heard it said by able Senators that not a dollar of this money should go to relieve distress in Russia; and yet when our ambassador at the Court of St. James pleaded for the discontinuance of the construction of privateers with which the government of Mr. Lincoln was to be destroyed it was the Government of Russia that sent a fleet into American waters under sealed instructions to go to the relief of Mr. Lincoln and his government. I have read every paper that passed between our State Department and our ambassador bearing upon that question years ago, and I commend that correspondence to the people who are criticizing Russia to-day.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, will the Senator kindly yield to a question from me now?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes; I yield to the Senator.

Mr. MYERS. Does the Senator from Michigan have high esteem for Benedict Arnold, who rendered most valiant service to the American cause at Quebec, Champlain, Ticonderoga, and other places, notwithstanding the fact that he later betrayed the cause which had honored him with a commission?

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator is talking about an American. I am not talking about Russians. I do not think Trotsky is a Russian. I do not think Lenine is a Russian. I am talking about the Russian people, God bless them, who need strength and comfort and help. I am talking of the Russian people; and I have not lost faith that they will yet work out a noble destiny, dreadful as their experience has been.

No; I abhor bolshevism, but the Russians will throw it off and stabilize their Government, in my opinion.

One thing Russia did do. They kept Germany busy on the eastern front while England was getting ready to go to the aid of Belgium and France; and if they need help I am going to give the President of the United States the funds and the right to help them. The mere fact that they are having an unfortunate political experience with cutthroats and assassins is no reason why they should be deserted by their historic friends.

I know what the sealed orders were that were given to the Russian fleet, and I know the effect that the sailing of that fleet for American waters had upon our enemy at that time. What no other influence could do the sailing of the Russian fleet accomplished. Dr. T. De Witt Talmage, the eminent divine, told me that while he was a guest in the palace at Petrograd he was shown the original orders given to that fleet. I want to say to Senators on both sides of the Chamber that Russia rendered a potential service to our country when we were sorely driven and at our very wits' end to control the disorder and Civil War within our own country, and as one American Senator I refuse to forget that service.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President—

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. WATSON. Nobody can dispute the propositions laid down by the Senator from Michigan in regard to the conduct of Russia during our Civil War. Everybody understands that; but I can not see what that has to do with the existing situation. The Senator undoubtedly sees a difference between ordered government and established institutions and institutions that are absolutely under the control of anarchy and of riot and of disorder, where wreck and death are the only order recognized by these people.

Now, the Senator, of course, does not want to feed the very men who are to-day shooting down American soldiers on Russian territory, and that is precisely what I object to. We know that if food were to be sent there, that food would be taken charge of by the red-handed anarchists and the Bolsheviks that are in control of the Russian Government at this time.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator is right—not usually wrong. I do not want to feed anyone who is shooting at an American soldier. There are millions of noncombatants in Russia. I suppose there are millions of them in Hungary and Austria and Germany. I do not want to say where this food shall go. I want to leave it to the President. I do not want to chisel into the statute something that we may regret. Some one has said, "That which hath been written shall remain, nor be erased, nor written o'er again."

This resolution, if enacted into law, will go down the ages; and I would rather that sentence would be out of it than in it. The fact that countries are at war does not mean that they will not at some time be at peace with each other. Why, our principal ally was once our enemy and at war with us. Russia and Japan were lately at war, yet they came to be friends. I do not like to write into the statute a declaration that money appropriated by the American Government for the relief of suffering and starvation shall not be used in certain territory, no matter what the suffering may be; that is the extent of my contention. I do not say to whom it shall go. I am not undertaking to direct the expenditure. I will leave it to the President.

Out here at Cabin John Bridge the name of Jefferson Davis was carved as Secretary of War at the time the bridge was constructed. During the War of the Rebellion some one went up and chiseled Davis's name out, and the scar was worse than the name, caused more talk and much animosity. Col. Roosevelt, while President, restored it, to his great credit. Revenge is a poor guide for men or nations.

I do not want to prolong this discussion. I have no intention of doing so. I did not intend to say anything about the bill. I think the limitations in this bill very unfortunate.

Before I take my seat I am going to repeat that I have not lost faith in Russia. Russia has made great progress since the end of the Russian-Japanese war—great progress. Before the Russian-Japanese war there was not a peasant in Russia who owned an acre of land in his own right. Within 10 years after the fall of Port Arthur millions of acres were owned and cultivated by the peasants who owned them. They are not hopeless, and we must not shut our ears and our eyes or our hearts against them. If there is a country in the world, outside of France, that has earned the perpetual gratitude of the American Nation, it is Russia. France helped us win the Revolution. Russia helped us win the Civil War. I do not want to let go unchallenged the statement that I have heard to-day several times, that none of this money must go to the relief of the Russians, just because a few scoundrels have assumed leadership there—temporary leadership, I hope.

I do not want anybody to misunderstand me. I am not going to overlook our friends and proceed immediately to the camps of our enemies to distribute these foodstuffs; but I am going to leave that to the President, as the bill does stripped of its limitations.

Will not that be better, Senators? Will not that look better a quarter of a century hence? Perhaps, when Germany may become a republic and our relations may become as close to her as they are to England now, it will not look very well to have this historic statute say that none of the money appropriated by this Government to feed the hungry and the starving in Europe shall be used in Germany.

We strongly condemned Germany because she would not feed the innocent children of Belgium when Germany was at war with Belgium; and yet here, two months after the armistice has been signed, when Germany is broken and her military strength destroyed, we solemnly assert that though her children be starving, none of this food shall be given to them. Is the world mad? That does not sound well to me.

I am not going to delay this bill by taking another moment of time. I again appeal to the Senator from Virginia to state whether or not he is willing to write into the bill the words "in agreement with those Governments with which the United States is associated in war," so that the sentence will read:

That for the participation by the Government of the United States—

And, then, my language—

In agreement with those governments with which the United States is associated in war in the furnishing of foodstuffs and other urgent supplies.

I think that will tend to remove the uncertainty as to whether this is a formal agreement between these powers. It will make a substantial basis for the return of the money we are appropriating; but if the Senator from Virginia disagrees with me, and the Committee on Appropriations disagrees with me, I will not press the matter. I think it ought to be in the bill; and I think the limitations ought to be out of the bill. The whole subject matter ought to be turned over to the President, without such limitations as will come back to plague us in the future.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Mr. President, the only amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan, as I understand, is to interline after the word "participation" the words "in agreement with other Governments."

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. "In agreement with other Governments." I would stop there, if necessary.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. The Senator has very generously said that if I did not feel that I could accept that amendment he would not press it further. I will say to him that the amendment is entirely unnecessary, because there has been an agreement between other Governments. Each of the four Governments has appointed two of its most distinguished statesmen to distribute this fund. The council for supply and relief agreed with the allied war council that \$300,000,000 should be raised to relieve the starving populations of Europe. That has been in the Record here. That agreement has been reached. Each of the four nations appointed two representatives. Lord Reading and another distinguished Englishman are on it for Great Britain. Two of the most distinguished men in France are on it. In the case of Italy, I forget the names; I can not carry these foreign names in my head; but the four Governments are all represented on what they call the supreme council of supply and relief, and they have agreed that it must raise \$300,000,000 to relieve the suffering people, and they have asked the people of the United States to furnish \$100,000,000 of the \$300,000,000. So there is an ample agreement, and it is already being attended to by a council of eight of the leading statesmen of Europe; and for that reason I think it would simply lead to confusion to change the law. It certainly can do no good, because the agreement has been arrived at, and eight of the leading statesmen of these four countries are at work trying to relieve the starvation among our friends in Europe.

I think, therefore, it is unnecessary to add that language to the bill.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I wish to say just a few words in regard to some of the remarks which were made by the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH].

Germany started and waged the most infamous, brutal assault upon the civilization of the world that has ever been known. In doing so, the German soldiers, who are from and of the German people, perpetrated the most monstrous, horrible, shocking, and blood-curdling outrages upon the people of France and Belgium that have even been known in the annals of history. Nothing like it was ever known before.

The people of Germany perpetrated monstrous outrages upon the people of this country, upon the dignity and integrity of this country. They sank the *Lusitania*, carrying about 200 inno-

cent citizens of the United States, mostly women and children. They sank other merchant ships, ships that belonged to the people of this country, and destroyed lives of other citizens of this country. The people of Germany held celebrations, commemorating with drink and joy and song and speeches those monstrous outrages. Germany tried to corrupt, debase, and poison this country through methods of bribery, treason, and infamy, by means of an infamous propaganda of disloyalty.

The Christian religion and all sound systems of morals and ethics teach that forgiveness is to be extended when there is repentance and contrition. We are taught by Holy Scripture that there is to be forgiveness when there is repentance and contrition and not before. The people of Germany have manifested not one symptom of repentance or contrition for anything they have done in this horrible assault on the civilization of the world. The people of Germany are still stubborn, unrepentant, and defiant. Their spirit is not broken. They do not regard themselves as a conquered, defeated, or beaten people. They still exhibit the belief that they were right in what they did, that they had a right to do it, from the standpoint of the false German philosophy which teaches that might makes right. There is every evidence that they cherish the idea of becoming again a world power and of renewing their monstrous warfare upon the civilization of the world and yet conquering the world and bringing it to their feet.

There is no sound system of religion or morals or ethics which teaches that people are entitled to forgiveness before they manifest repentance, and that is a sound principle. There is justice in it. It is at the bottom of every sound system of theology, morals, and ethics. The Bible teaches it. We are not entitled to forgiveness until we repent of our sins and ask for forgiveness. The German people have not yet manifested one symptom of repentance. They still manifest a stubborn, sullen disposition to stand on what they have done.

When the people of Germany express repentance and contrition for their misdeeds; when they acknowledge that they were wrong in this war; when they acknowledge that they were the cause of bringing on the war and did it willfully and wrongfully; when they acknowledge that they were guilty of monstrous outrages upon innocent men, women, and children, noncombatants, in France and Belgium; when they acknowledge that they were in the wrong in all those things and exhibit a spirit of repentance and contrition and a disposition to make reparation for those wrongs and a willingness to make a beginning at making reparation, I say it will be time enough for the people of the United States to extend to them forgiveness, generosity, and charity.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. President—

Mr. MYERS. I yield with pleasure to the Senator.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The Senator does not understand that I am in a forgiving frame of mind in reference to Germany and the atrocities she has committed?

Mr. MYERS. I say, without any discredit to the Senator's generosity of heart, that if he wants to extend the provisions of this bill to Germany, it seems to me he is in a very forgiving frame of mind. It can not be otherwise.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I have not said anything about extending the provisions of the bill to Germany. I simply expressed my opposition to that limitation, leaving it to the President to say where hunger and distress should be relieved. I am not telling him where to go.

Mr. MYERS. No; but striking out "Germany" would leave the food free to go to Germany.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. It would leave the matter with the President. The President is in a position to know as much, at least, about the atrocities that have been committed as the Senator and myself. We leave it to him. I do not like to write into the statute such a word. I think it will come back to plague us. I cited the case out here at Cabin John Bridge. To the eternal credit of Col. Theodore Roosevelt, he ordered Jefferson Davis's name recarved on that bridge. I want to say to the Senator what I said a little while ago, that which has been written shall remain, and I would be very slow as to what I would write in a statute, especially when the object of the statute is bounty and generosity to starving people.

Mr. MYERS. That was a very generous and chivalrous act on the part of Mr. Roosevelt, for whom I ever had very great admiration after the outbreak of the European war, admiration for his true citizenship and intense Americanism. The instances are not analogous, however. I do not believe the Senator from Michigan would be in favor of restoring to the campus of the War College, in this city, the statue of Frederick the Great, which was taken down after we entered the European war.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not know that I would.

Mr. MYERS. I should not think so. I believe the time for that has not yet come.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I do not know that I would favor restoring that statue, but I would not favor tearing down the one of von Steuben, on Lafayette Square, who helped us in the Revolutionary War.

Mr. MYERS. This is not a question, however, of statues. It is not a matter of sentiment. It is a question of justice. The effect of putting into the bill the idea of the Senator from Michigan, amending it by taking out the name of Germany, would be to give the tacit consent of this body to sending to Germany a part of the food to be provided, if the authorities in charge of the distribution of it should so decide. I believe it is proper to put in the bill a limitation so as to exclude Germany from participation. Congress is the disbursing body of the Government, and it is proper for Congress to say how and where it thinks money appropriated should go. I believe we should keep such a restriction in all such bills, until the people of Germany manifest some repentance, some contrition for the monstrous iniquities and outrages which they have perpetrated upon the people of this country and all the rest of the world; until they manifest a willingness to make some reparation to the victims of their outrageous treatment and brutal conduct. When they do that, when they exhibit genuine repentance and contrition and a disposition to make reparation, I am not one of those who would withhold from them forgiveness, mercy, and charity. Until then I would not be precipitate about extending charity to them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole. The Chair submitted the question, but was in doubt, and before he could again submit the question the absence of a quorum was suggested. He will again put the question on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, if I am in order, I wish to address myself to the measure before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would suggest that the matter was left hanging, and unless the Senator desires to oppose concurring in the amendments—

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Perhaps what I will say will be an argument in favor of it, perhaps it will be an argument against it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has been recognized.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes; I supposed I had.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin will proceed.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, the Senate is about to vote upon a bill that appropriates \$100,000,000 to be expended in Europe as a gratuity. I am unable to regard the pending bill as a measure to promote war or to give my support to it as a war measure. I do not understand that this Government is at present at war with any people on the face of the earth. In a very narrow and technical sense, perhaps, it may be said that a state of war still exists with the central powers, but the last address which the President delivered to Congress gave us, in my judgment, such assurance as his mastery of the language could give us that the war was at an end.

Everybody knows that in a practical, sensible, rational way the war has ended. The armies of the central powers are dissipated, disintegrated, scattered. They have surrendered. Their navies are in the possession of the allies. Their aircraft, their artillery, their transportation service have been turned over so completely that all thought of war is preposterous.

So when anybody advocates this measure as a war measure I think it is reasonable to say that he is talking fiction. By the very terms of the bill not a dollar of the appropriation is to be expended upon the people with whom we have been at war. How, then, can it be called a war measure?

We are not actually and lawfully at war with any people on the face of the earth. If we are making any war at any place we are making it unlawfully and in violation of the Constitution, and if 124 American boys were killed on foreign soil within 48 hours such sacrifice of American lives was made in violation of the Constitution. It was not lawful war, it was murder, and it can not be disguised by any fine phrases.

So, Mr. President, anybody who supports this bill as a war measure, in my judgment, can not find any fact or situation to bring it within any legal definition of a war measure.

It has been somewhat interesting, as a sort of spectator, to follow this discussion. One Senator would take the floor and say he could not support this bill as a war measure, but that he supported it as a peace measure. Another Senator would say that he could not support it as a peace measure, but that out of the bounty of this country he felt it ought to be supported as a measure of charity.

I do not believe there can be found any logical support for it as a peace measure. It is not to be used to make peace with those with whom we have been at war, for according to the terms of the provisions of the bill, no dollar of it is to be expended within the limits of Germany or among or upon any of the peoples with whom we have been at war. How, then, can it be said that it is a peace measure? If we are not to expend a dollar of it upon the people with whom we have been at war, then how can it be a war measure? If we can not expend a dollar of it upon the people with whom we are now making peace, how is it a measure to promote peace?

What, then, is this bill? I do not believe the time has yet come, sir, to discuss any measure before this body upon constitutional grounds. The Constitution has for some time been a lost document. I do not believe the Senate has it sufficiently in view to approach the discussion of this bill in that calm spirit in which constitutional rights and constitutional principles should be discussed.

Is it a measure, Mr. President, to appropriate money for charity? Are any of the Senators on this floor supporting it on the ground that it is for charity? Senators, you must offer some reason, some day, for your support of this appropriation of \$100,000,000. Are you supporting it as a war measure, as a peace measure, or are you supporting it as an appropriation for charity?

Think for just a moment of the figure of our good old Uncle Sam dispensing charity to the starving peoples of Europe. Their hands stretched out to him shrunken with hunger and starvation, little children about his knees, pale, emaciated, their hands so thin that you can see through them. For two years a great, large area of that country has existed upon food that lacked most of the elements essential to life, and the people show the wasting effects of this deprivation. Think of that figure which represents the strength and power, and, if we are to believe that this is charity, the benevolence and the philanthropy of this Government. Picture Uncle Sam there with his means of relieving hunger, and he sees stretched out to him the hands of all nationalities.

Charity! Do you tell me it is charity? What is charity? Charity, Mr. President, has no room in its heart for hate or resentment. It is not charity; it can not be charity if it discriminates. Think of charity represented in the person of this figure that stands for American benevolence and philanthropy turning away a starving child because it is of German parentage. Write it into this statute if you will, but if you do you will write in that which in 10 years will make you as an American writhe and cringe in shame that you did it.

Charity, Mr. President, is the very spirit of the Christ life. Charity represents and stands for all the principles of His teachings.

When you remember the greatest act of Grant's life, really the greatest act of his life, what was it? Oh, that magnificent thing which he did at Appomattox. "Take home your horses and your mules, ye men of the South. You will need them for making the spring crop." When the magnificent figure of that knightly man who had led the Southern forces through four years of fighting against this Government leaned across the table to the sturdy, silent man of few words and said, "Gen. Grant, 28,000 of the Confederate soldiers here have not had anything to eat but parched corn for days," what then did the commander of the victorious forces of the Union say to him who stood before him as the representative of the forces which had been seeking to destroy our Government? What was it? Did he say to him, "We have hungry people in the North, and we propose to feed them first. You fellows who have been fighting to destroy the best Government under God's heaven must go hungry for a while." No; the great general who saved this country and this Government said to him, "Bring them in. The Federal commissary is open to them"; and that night 28,000 Confederate soldiers fed at the commissary of the Government which they had fought to destroy.

Mr. President, this is not a measure to prosecute war. It is not a measure to secure peace, and it is not a measure that can be wholly covered by the mantle of charity. A great enveloping mantle is that mantle of charity, but if you scan it closely enough through it you may see the horns and the hoofs of the Beef Trust, and in saying that I am suggesting no duplicity on the part of the President of the United States. As the late lamented Dolliver once said, "he is surrounded by men who know exactly what they want."

Mr. President, just a suggestion and I leave that phase of the case. Who is it you would punish by denying food to the Germans? The Kaiser? Hindenburg? Ludendorff? Hardly. You would punish the millions of German men, women, and

children and Austrian men, women, and children, who had no more to do with the bringing on of this war than you had, not a bit. Do you think it is straining to assert that? Listen:

We have no quarrel with the German people—

Treason? No. Listen:

We have no quarrel with the German people; we have no feeling for them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

Who said these words? Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States.

Then, Mr. President, why not supply these peoples? Why starve them? Who said those words? Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. Out of fashion, are they? Perhaps so. But he said more. Listen:

We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts.

And again:

You catch with me the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive—

Mark you, Mr. President, "the voices of humanity that are in the air" grow daily "more persuasive." I am sure the Senate desires to hear what the President said, so I shall read from the beginning of the paragraph.

You catch with me the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere. They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or people shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong. It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula, "No annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities."

When the President uttered those words long months after we had entered the war, uttered them as an assurance to the German people as to what they might expect if they would weaken in their support of the Kaiser's Government, he was distinguishing between the German people and the Kaiser's Government. I do not think you will find anywhere anybody who will stand up in defense of anything that junkerdom in Germany or junkerdom in any other country has been guilty of in connection with the present war. But there is a difference between the responsibility of the people who were a part of the Government—a helpless part of it—and were forced into a war, and those who were in control and are responsible for the war. I think the time has come to make the discrimination.

Mr. President I understand perfectly well what we are about to do. Mrs. Jameson has said:

I have much more confidence in the charity which begins at home and diverges into a large humanity than in the world-wide philanthropy which begins at the outside of our horizon to converge into egotism.

We are about to go on record in support of this appropriation of \$100,000,000, for which the people are to be taxed, not according to their wealth—the time to do that has gone by—but we will sell bonds to provide this \$100,000,000, and consumption taxes will be levied upon the people of the United States to pay that obligation. I know the distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. MARTIN] believes—for he has said it on the floor of the Senate several times since this bill was under consideration—that a considerable portion of this sum will be returned by the governments to which this appropriation is to be doled out by Mr. Hoover on the other side. I read carefully the hearings before the committee, and the best that I could get out of it in support of that proposition was the statement of Mr. Polk that he hoped that 50 per cent of it might be returned as a revolving fund if the governments receiving it appropriated the money to pay back to the United States.

Senators must remember that by the terms of this bill it is not food alone that will be dispensed. Agricultural implements, fertilizer—there are a thousand and one things for which this money can be spent and yet come within the terms of the statute. What are the terms of the proposed statute? "Foodstuffs and other urgent supplies." In the hearings it was admitted that "urgent supplies" means anything Mr. Hoover sees fit to purchase for these people. Put agricultural implements and fertilizer and things of that character into the scale on one side and on the other side let me present to you the conditions in this country, and weigh it a little; consider it a little to-day as you cast your votes for this appropriation.

Mr. President, the Senate should pause and consider the conditions that confront the people of the United States at this hour. There is a situation so grave and so serious menacing our own country at this very moment that it must appeal to the most conservative-minded man in the Chamber to consider well how we shall deal with that situation as it grows upon us—

how we shall use the trust funds that are committed to us in the Treasury of the United States.

A few days ago the secretary of the American Federation of Labor addressed the Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives. He said that upon the most desultory and imperfect advices that he had from over the country there were several hundred thousand men in the United States out of employment. Senators may smile and treat this as a matter of little moment now, but you may regard it more seriously a little later.

He said another thing: That in 90 days you would see the grim formation of the bread line in every industrial center in America. I believe that the man who perhaps knows most about unemployment in the United States is sitting within the sound of my voice. Whatever the secretary of the American Federation of Labor may know about the matter comes to him in telegrams from several cities, and from this information he made the calculation upon which he based his statement before the committee that there are 300,000 men out of employment. That tells the story as he knows it at that particular moment. I happen to be a member of the committee of conference on the census bill. We had before us yesterday an address, which stirred deeply with me the responsibilities that are upon that conference committee at this time. Dr. France, a Member of this body, I believe through many years has given great attention to the question of social conditions and the legislation necessary to meet them. He has given more attention to these problems, perhaps, more than all the other men in this body combined. I do not think anyone who listened to his address before the Senate but had the most unbounded respect for his learning and his mastery of all the matters involved in the propositions which he discussed. In speaking before the committee of conference yesterday Senator FRANCE stated that beyond any question there are in the United States to-day close to 1,000,000 men out of employment—not 300,000, but 1,000,000—and that when the large army from the other side was finally discharged there would be 2,000,000 men in the United States out of employment.

Things happen very rapidly in these days. We have a great Army of four and a half million men to be demobilized and must again be absorbed into the industrial life of the country, and then we must meet the changed conditions that suddenly transform industry from a war to a peace basis. That can not be done without a jolt, without a shock to the economic system of this country. Do you believe that you can pass over that situation and not produce conditions which may possibly be very disastrous to our social order? And is it not well for us, when we stand, as we do this afternoon, upon the threshold of an appropriation to distribute as an act of gratuity and of doubtful constitutional authority at the best, \$100,000,000 for agricultural implements, fertilizer, and a wide range of things that come within the terms of this bill in foreign countries, to consider these matters? And for what are we at this time to make this appropriation? Why, the very messages we have received pretty plainly indicate. It is not proposed to use it primarily to save life, but to control principles, to meet arguments, to arrest the progress of socialistic propaganda.

Mr. President, I am making no defense of any particular form of government that is advocated in the Old World, but I say that the principles and the arguments back of socialism must be met with something beside food. We may drain the Treasury, we may pour the wealth of this Government into the currents of the life of the countries on the other side seeking by free-lunch counters to answer the arguments of those who have suffered the injustice of such governments as the Russian Government, and we will have squandered every cent sent to them. Nay, more, we will have discounted and rendered unworthy and prejudiced the good work that this Government ought to be able to do as an example to the other Governments of the world. It is argument and example that must be used to effectively meet argument.

I ask for a moment to place a brief, very imperfect, and fragmentary survey of the situation in this country before the Senate, and I send to the Secretary's desk several letters and some telegrams, which I ask the Secretary to read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 21, 1919.

Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I herewith inclose copies of telegrams in regard to unemployment received from the secretaries of the central bodies of these cities, which are additional to the ones I submitted in my hearing last Thursday before the House Committee on Immigration.

I have also received information orally from a number of officers of international unions that some of the larger employers of labor are

discharging their men and then reemploying them at a lower rate. In support of that statement I attach a communication received from President William H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists, with a statement prepared by Vice President Anderson, which will throw a sinister side light upon ill-advised action taken by a number of employers of labor that is creating great unrest among their workers and seriously hampering the efforts of the officers of the trade-union movement to adjust grievances without their members resorting to a strike.

Yours, very truly,

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS,
Washington, D. C., January 21, 1919.

Mr. FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I was much interested in reading the statement made by you before the Senate Committee on Immigration, and I have requested Vice President Anderson to compile some figures relative to the number of employees laid off in the machine industry.

It may interest you to know that a number of firms are accentuating the existing unrest caused by unemployment by increasing their hours instead of decreasing them, which would be the natural thing to do under the circumstances.

There are quite a number of firms that have been working on the basic eight-hour day that have served notice on their employees it is their intention to return to the 10-hour workday.

The Mitchell Motor Car Co. and the Prefix Radiator Co., both of Racine, Wis., attempted to compel the men to give over the basic day to a 10-hour day, and as a consequence the men went on strike.

The J. B. Wise Co., of Watertown, N. Y., where an 8-hour day existed, posted notice that the 8-hour day would be discontinued and the 10-hour day established. As a result the men in that plant went out on strike.

There are quite a number of employers who have been working under the award made by the National War Labor Board, which was supposed to be in effect for the duration of the war. They have now served notice on their employees that so far as they are concerned the war ended on November 11, 1918, when the armistice was signed, and therefore the award is no longer in effect, and that the employees would be discharged and reemployed at the old wage rate in effect before the award was made; or, in other words, they would be expected to work for prewar wages, despite the fact that the cost of living has not been lessened.

Among the firms which have taken the position referred to is the Worthington Pump Co., Cudahy, Wis. While the award was supposed to be in effect until May 1, or for the duration of the war, they have taken the position that the war is ended and they are no longer obligated to abide by the award.

The Willys-Overland Co., at Elyria, Ohio, have taken a similar position, paid all their employees off, numbering several thousand, and reemployed them at rate existing before the award was put into effect.

There are numerous other firms which could be mentioned. Possibly, we shall have quite a complete list in the next week or so. However, this information, in addition to that Mr. Anderson is getting up, showing the number of men laid off in the different cities in the country, will be very illuminating, and you may make any use of it you desire.

With best wishes, I remain,

Fraternally, yours,

(Signed) WM. H. JOHNSTON,
International President.

About 4,000 men have been laid off to date in Fitchburg, Mass.

Between 500 and 600 machinists out of work in Chicago, Ill.

About 1,000 machinists and toolmakers and 8,000 specialists laid off in Newark, N. J. The names of some of the shops where the greatest layoffs occurred are as follows:

Gould & Eberhardt Co., Newark, laid off 250 machinists, 100 specialists. Employed 800 during war and manufactured Gould & Eberhardt shaper. Were working basic 8-hour day 10 hours a day, with time and one-half time for overtime. Now they are working the 10-hour day and paying straight time for it. They are trying to reduce rates by offering to break in new men at a low rate.

Splittorf Magneto Co., Newark, laid off 100 machinists and 200 specialists. Manufacture the Splittorf magneto. Before war employed 1,000. Working basic eight-hour day, paying time and one-half for overtime. Shop committee requested company to stop overtime, but they refused and trouble is brewing.

International Arms and Fuse, Newark, laid off 800 machinists and toolmakers and about 7,000 specialists.

Syming, Anderson Co., of Rochester, N. Y., has practically closed down their plant, causing about 4,000 men to be out of work. Bausch & Lomb Optical Co., Rochester, laying off from 25 to 30 men per day.

Colt Fire Arms Co., of Hartford, Conn., has laid off close to 4,000 employees out of 7,500. Pratt & Whitney Co., Hartford, have laid off 1,300 out of 5,000. The McIntyre Machine Co. and the Hartford Machine Screw Co. discharged a number of their employees and then attempted to rehire them at a lesser rate.

Bradley Car Co., Worcester, Mass., laid off 9,000 men. John Bath Co., Worcester, Mass., laid off 50 men and are now hiring help at reduced wages. Reed Prentice Co., Worcester, laid off about 150 men and are attempting to rehire them at lesser rate.

Vim Motor Co., Sandusky, Ohio, normal force in machine department, 200; 175 laid off, while 10 girls and 15 men were retained. Working 55 hours week; basic week 45 hours, time and one-half for overtime. Sandusky Foundry and Machine Co. laid off 50 out of 80. Working 59 hours week. Other shops in Sandusky using every effort to enforce 10-hour day, and are well lined up to resist any increase in wages.

Pierce-Arrow Motor Car Co., Buffalo, N. Y., laid off entire night force—approximately 1,000—and about 3,000 of day force. Curtiss Aeroplane Co., Buffalo, laid off about 15,000. American Car & Foundry, Buffalo, laid off about 2,000. Russell Motor Car Co., Buffalo, laid off about 1,000. King Sewing Machine Co. laid off 500; Bethlehem Steel Co. about 1,500; Donner Steel Co. about 1,000; and about 800 were laid off in smaller shops in Buffalo. Total, about 25,800 men out of work.

Reports from Columbus, Ohio, indicate that the contract shops in general are only retaining 10 per cent of their force. The general impression is that they are trying to lower wages.

In New Haven, Conn., the following lay offs have occurred:

Winchester Repeating Arms Co. laid off 9,000 out of 20,000.

Marlin Rockwell Corporation laid off entire force of 4,000 men.

Driggs Manufacturing Co. retained 10 men out of ordinary force of 160.

Trego Motor Co. retained 200 out of 500.

Lay offs affecting not so many men occurred in a number of other shops in New Haven.

Since the signing of the armistice a number of men have been laid off in St. Paul, Minn. About 2,500 machinists out of work.

PAN AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
January 20, 1919.

Mr. FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor,
American Federation of Labor Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I have read with much interest your statements appearing in the Washington Post in reference to the state of unemployment and to the possibilities of "bread lines" by May 1. I have also read what purport to be refutations of your statements by some of the employers and business men in several industrial centers.

In part it may be true that in those places they refer to the state of unemployment may not be so acute, but this does not necessarily mean that the same conditions of unemployment apply in other industries. Take the copper industry, for example.

I have just received two letters, one from Luis E. Soto, secretary of Miners' Union No. 84, of Metcalf, Ariz., and the other from J. Ignacio Garcia, secretary of Miners' Union No. 80, of Morenci, Ariz., wherein it is stated that during the last two weeks the mining companies in that district have thrown 700 men out of employment. The Shannon Copper Co. completely suspended operations. And, furthermore, it is stated that in the course of a few days 300 more men will be laid off. If it be true, as the employers in that district state, that there is no market for copper at present, what will be the result when the copper companies in the other producing States follow the same action? In my opinion, we will not have to wait until May 1 for the inauguration of the famous "bread lines."

Incidentally, the miners in the Clifton-Morenci-Metcalf district have asked, "What will the American Federation of Labor and the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers do to meet the crisis that is facing the copper industry?"

Fraternally,

(Signed) CANUTE A. VARGAS.

OMAHA, NEBR., January 15, 1919.

FRANK MORRISON,
A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Approximate number of unemployed 100; short on skilled mechanics.
S. C. JACKSON.

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., January 20, 1919.

FRANK MORRISON,
A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Fifteen hundred unemployed here.
E. F. MASON.

FRANK MORRISON,
American Federation Building,
Washington, D. C.

Estimate about 125 unemployed in this city.
E. J. DEFFNER.

WORCESTER, MASS., January 17, 1919.

FRANK MORRISON,
A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Absence from city delayed the answering of your telegram; approximately 12,000 now unemployed in Worcester.
J. E. HEFFRON,
Secretary.

FRANK MORRISON,
CHARLESTON, W. VA., January 20, 1919.

A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.:
The unemployed between three and four thousands.
E. F. DAVIS.

FRANK MORRISON,
SCHENECTADY, N. Y., January 18, 1919.

A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.:
Approximately thirty-five hundred unemployed in Schenectady.
F. A. SOELLNER.
11.50 p. m.

FRANK MORRISON,
AKRON, OHIO, January 19, 1919.

A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.:
About 2,500 out of employment here.
A. R. WELKER, Sec'y.
5.06 p. m.

FRANK MORRISON,
GREAT FALLS, MONT.

A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.:
One thousand unemployed; adding to list daily.
J. FRANK KIERNAN.

FRANK MORRISON,
INDIANAPOLIS, IND., January 18, 1919.

American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.:
Eight thousand unemployed in Indianapolis.
HERBERT MCCARMICK.

FRANK MORRISON,
BRIDGEPORT, CONN., January 19, 1919.

Secretary American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:
In answer to wire, about 15,000 out of work in Bridgeport.
WM. S. HOFFMAN,
Secretary Central Labor Union 184,
Harborville Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn.

DENVER, COLO., January 18, 1919.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

Estimate between fifteen hundred and two thousand wage earners unemployed.

THOS. P. RODGERS, Secretary.

TACOMA, WASH., January 20, 1919.

FRANK MORRISON,
American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.:

Between two and three thousand unemployed; strike called for Tuesday, affecting 12,000.

JOSEPH H. LYONS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., January 17, 1919.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor,
American Federation of Labor Building,
Washington, D. C.:

After consulting all available sources, I would estimate that there are 15,000 unemployed in San Francisco at the present time.

JOHN A. O'CONNELL,
Secretary Labor Council of San Francisco.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., January 20, 1919.

MR. FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.:

Replying to your inquiry, from information received, there are about 10,000 out of work in Philadelphia, and number is increasing daily; also more than this number on strike at present.

FRANK MCKOSKY.

SEATTLE, WASH., January 20, 1919.

FRANK MORRISON,
American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.:

Impossible to give approximate amount. Thousands, and increasing daily by soldiers from other States being mustered out here, which threatens to be greatest menace. Taking care situation best possible. Government should offer some relief. Washington men will find themselves out of employment when they return. Employers, some of them, trying to take advantage of conditions to reduce standards. To add to this, shipyard strike to-morrow; no settlement in sight.

C. W. DOYLE.

MR. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, those telegrams were sent to me by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor on Wednesday. The conditions are changing with every hour. You can not pick up any newspaper, morning or afternoon, that it does not record some new phase of this serious situation; and it seemed to me that it was proper for Senators to have before them these facts for consideration at the time they considered this appropriation, for I have not much doubt, Mr. President, that the next 60, possibly 30, anyway 90, days will present to us problems the meeting of which will tax our wisdom and possibly our resources. They must be met as they arise; but at the same time it seemed to me quite worth while that they should be taken into account and should be made part of the record of this proceeding.

But I do not know; perhaps I would not have been prompted to institute this inquiry by telephone from the American Federation of Labor, and bring to my desk through the mails the situation as they had it in hand day before yesterday, except for the fact that one of the Senators, in the course of the discussion of this bill, arraigned the labor of this country as responsible for any unemployment that exists.

Mr. President, it seemed to me so unjust, so unworthy of the Senate, that it ought not to stand upon the RECORD without some answer. I do not hold any brief for the laboring men of this country. I represent in part the State of Wisconsin. We are an agricultural and a manufacturing State; but in a way, Mr. President, I feel some responsibility, as does every Senator, for legislation that concerns the whole country.

It has been stated in the course of the debate upon this bill that laboring men are responsible for the unemployment there is in this country to-day; that ordinary labor is demanding \$6, \$8, and \$10 a day for its services; that the advance in wages is responsible for the high cost of living; that before the war labor constituted 50 per cent of the cost of the articles produced, and that now it constitutes about 85 per cent.

Mr. President, such statements ought not be permitted to stand in support either directly or indirectly of any legislation so important as this legislation is; and it seems to me any Senator ought to be quick to rise upon this floor—I have waited for others to do so—to resent the statements made.

MR. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President—

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

MR. LA FOLLETTE. I do; of course.

MR. HITCHCOCK. Has some supporter of the bill made the statements to which the Senator has just referred?

MR. LA FOLLETTE. I so understand. I have not any doubt but that the Senator who made the statements here will support the bill. I understand he spoke in support of the bill.

MR. HITCHCOCK. I have not heard any Senator supporting the bill make those arguments.

MR. LA FOLLETTE. Well, of course, the Senator has not been here all the while to catalogue all the Senators who have supported the bill. I would not misquote anybody, Mr. President. Listen:

You will find 20 applications for persons to be employed where you will find 1 who asks for employment.

What do you think of that, in the face of these telegrams and letters that are here; and what percentage of the situation in this country do you suppose those letters and telegrams represent?

MR. HITCHCOCK. Will the Senator state whom he is quoting?

MR. LA FOLLETTE. Yes; I am quoting the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER], who, I believe, is a supporter of this bill. I understand he is. And no supporter of the bill questioned the statement, so they must have accepted it. Listen, again:

As a matter of fact, while before the war, taking ordinary products, the labor and raw material were about fifty fifty, there are now, in most cases, more than 85 per cent representing labor, which shows that the raw material has not gone up anywhere to the extent that labor has.

Oh, just think of that statement. If it means anything, it means that 85 per cent of the cost of the ordinary article represents labor. That put on to the laboring men the responsibility for the high cost of living.

Mr. President, I am going to demonstrate on this floor—not now; it will take some little time of the Senate when I get ready to do it—but I propose to demonstrate upon this floor that, as a matter of fact, in twenty-odd years the wages of labor instead of advancing have decreased when you consider the purchasing value of the wages, down to the hour when the European war broke upon the world; and I can make it so clear and so demonstrable that it can not be disputed. And, Mr. President, let me say if there should break over this fair country of ours disturbances—which God forbid—that should shake things to their foundation, it will be because we have gone blindly forward in the pursuit of wealth and so-called prosperity regardless of the men who toil and sweat and bear the burdens.

Listen again:

When you come to paying \$6, \$7, \$8, or \$10 a day for the most ordinary labor—

Shall that go undenied upon the floor of the Senate? Not while I happen to be a Member of it, and I waited nearly for this debate to close for some man who could speak with more authority here than I can to protest that statement.

What are the plain, indisputable facts?

Now, Mr. President, it is not possible for me to produce here to-day the exact amount of the labor cost of the ordinary articles of produce that enter into the daily life of the American people, because that is a matter of exhaustive calculation, of scientific investigation, which has not been made since the disturbances in cost prices resulting from the war; but I am able to put before the Senate some evidence that is indisputable, some evidence that nobody will contradict, and which bears so conclusively upon present prices and the relation of the labor cost in those prices to the other costs that I think it will be a conclusive answer.

In the first place, let me speak of the charge that has been made here, and unanswered, that labor is demanding and receiving excessive wages; that ordinary labor stands at six, eight, and ten dollars a day; that labor is responsible for the high cost of living. I deny it, and I will prove that it is not so. The veriest tyro in the study of economics knows, Mr. President, that the wage level is not the first to rise; that wages advance after all other advances have been made; that wages can not be advanced until such advance is forced upon the employer. The proof of that is that labor has been compelled to organize even to keep step in a measure behind the advancing conditions that compel the increase in wages.

Mr. President, perhaps I can make no better, fairer, or more complete answer to the statement that wages are responsible for the increased cost of living; that wages are excessive, and that wages are six and eight and ten dollars a day for ordinary labor, than to read you a little table I prepared from a Government publication, dated September, 1918, entitled "Monthly Labor Review." I take it that nobody will deny these figures.

I find in that Monthly Labor Review extended tables giving the rate of union wages in all the North Atlantic States for May 15, 1918. Now, I had a later report than this. I had one for November, and this was issued in September; but, in the first place, I did not know that I could get a later edition, and I made up my tables from this number, because I thought it was perfectly fair to take May 15. It would not be influenced by anything that has happened with regard to the cessation of the war, and it would show the very worst conditions that union labor, so far as wages are concerned, sought to impose upon this

country in the North Atlantic States. But when I got hold of the November number, as I did late yesterday, I found that the rate of wages given in the November number is exactly the same as in the September number. They have not changed. They are the same. While I think of it, I am going to ask to print these tables as an appendix to my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Wisconsin is granted, and it is so ordered.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Right in connection with what I am saying now, I have a table that is a fair criterion of what those wage figures show, that I propose to put right into the text now, in connection with what I am saying. Now, let us see about those "excessive wages" demanded by labor during the stress, when war was on, when everybody was expected to be patriotic, and almost everybody was patriotic except a lot of profiteers.

What did the unions demand in the way of wages? I have gone through these tables and taken the highest wages that I could find for any city in any North Atlantic State, and the lowest that I could find, and I have put them into this table in order to show the trend of things.

These are the wages that union labor demanded in this country. Union labor can always command better wages than individual labor can get, and so this may be taken as the high tide of the appeal of labor for enough to live on. Let us see if it is excessive; let us see if it is \$6, \$8, or \$10 a day for ordinary labor, for the man with the pick and the shovel. Let us see whether labor is less patriotic than the employers.

According to the union-labor scale of the 15th of May for bricklayers the highest wages they demanded in the North Atlantic States were \$5.95 a day for eight hours' labor, and the lowest were \$5.15.

Building laborers, evacuating scaffold men, and so forth—the highest wages they demanded, according to the union scale, were \$3.82, and the lowest \$2.40, in the North Atlantic States. At that time their wages would not purchase more than 50 per cent of the necessities of life those same wages would have purchased before the war.

For carpenters the highest wages demanded by union labor on the 15th of May, 1918, was \$5.20, and \$4.36 the lowest.

Engineers, portable and hoisting, \$6.06 the highest wages, \$4.58 the lowest.

Hod carriers \$4.40 and \$2.56. Split that in two and you have what the money would purchase according to the scale of the prices of the necessities of life at any time before the war; that is, \$1.28 a day at the fair prices of the necessities of life before the war and \$2.20 a day. Yet, a man will stand on this floor and talk about ordinary labor demanding \$6, \$8, and \$10 a day.

Painters, \$5 and \$3.66.

Plasterers, \$5.86 and \$4.58.

Plasterers' laborers—those are the fellows who carry the mortar for the plasterers, I suppose—\$4.12 and \$2.56.

Plumbers and gas fitters, \$5.50 and \$4.12.

Sheet-metal workers, \$5.50 and \$2.75.

Structural iron workers, \$6.78 and \$4.58.

Structural iron workers (finishers' helpers), \$4.40 and \$3.30.

Blacksmiths, \$6.52 and \$4.16.

Boiler makers, \$6.30 and \$4.77.

Machinists, \$8.10 and \$2.50. Machinists were the very highest paid mechanical labor in the country last May, when the purchasing price of the dollar was less than 50 cents.

Moulders (iron), \$5.80 and \$3.66.

Pattern makers, \$7 and \$2.75.

Granite cutters, \$5.72 and \$3.66.

Stonecutters, \$5.50 and \$4.12.

Mr. President, that is what organized labor demanded. We have some labor bureaus organized under the Federal Government. During that same period of time last summer they were seeking employment for men out of work and they got employment, and they put down in this bulletin the wages they were able to obtain for the men for whom they secured employment.

So I have here another table, Mr. President, the employment table, the actual results of the bureau organized to secure employment for unemployed people in the United States. I am going to ask leave to print that table as a part of my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I have selected, in so far as the table shows it, the very same employments that I selected for the first table, so that there can be a comparison instituted between what union labor demanded and what the United States Bureau of Labor or its subordinate organizations were able to secure for the labor that it placed in employment over the country. I will not take the time to read it. It corresponds very generally with the same figures that are here, and I will ask to incorporate it without reading in my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, leave is granted.

The table referred to is as follows:

Rates of wages paid to workers placed in employment by public employment offices in the United States July, 1918.

Occupation.	Rate of wages per day.	
	Highest.	Lowest.
Blacksmiths.....	\$7.00	\$2.50
Boiler makers.....	7.00	3.40
Bricklayers.....	8.00	4.00
Carpenters.....	8.00	4.00
Cooks, male.....	5.00	1.50
Drivers, teamsters, etc.....	4.50	1.75
Dock laborers.....	6.00	2.40
Farm hands.....	4.00	1.00
Hod carriers.....	6.50	1.75
Laborers.....	4.50	2.00
Machinists.....	6.00	3.00
Plasterers.....	7.00	3.20
Plumbers.....	7.00	3.60
Structural iron workers.....	6.50	4.00

Mr. CALDER. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield for an interruption.

Mr. CALDER. Does the Senator's investigation show what the percentage of increase in the cost of labor has been during the past two years? I did not catch all his statement. I heard him read the rates of pay for men in the building industry. I know something of the building industry, and I will say to the Senator, if he will permit me, that the rates of pay in the building industry in the North Atlantic States have increased in the last two years about 30 per cent.

We are not going to have very much building activity this spring, I am afraid, and it will not be altogether because of the increased cost of labor. I find from inquiries, which I made the other day myself, that while wages increased in building 30 to 35 per cent, the cost of material that goes into new buildings has increased from 100 to 300 per cent.

Cement three years ago was about a dollar a barrel and to-day it costs \$3 a barrel. Brick cost two years ago \$7 a thousand and they now cost \$15 a thousand. Spruce timber cost about \$35 a thousand and now costs \$65 a thousand.

So if the activities in building this spring do not go on it will not be entirely because of the increased cost of labor, but I will say to the Senator it will be more particularly because of the increased cost of the materials, which I contend is unwarranted in many respects.

I have always felt that if the men who are manufacturing materials should in these days try to sell their materials for the lowest margin of profit it would tend to start the industry again, and we would have labor more generally employed and business more active.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The Senator's observations merely confirm what I am trying to present to the Senate, that whatever there is of this high level of prices which the people are finding so burdensome it is not due to the advances in wages. It is not the cause that brought it about, but the cause is, as the Senator from New York says, an unreasonable advance in the price of materials. It is the grasping spirit of the employers, and under the economic conditions that prevail in this country and that within the last 20 years have overturned the old laws of trade and competition the employers are enabled to fix arbitrarily the price of their products to the consumer. Under those conditions they are impelled to exact greater and greater profits and to advance the price of material unreasonably and throw upon the men employed in their various organizations a burden under which it is impossible for them to live without an advance in wages. Of course, the men demand an increase of wages. That follows as a necessity.

Mr. President, there is another feature of this matter to which I want to call attention. I did not intend to consume anything like the time I have taken, and I will make haste. It is the suggestion that the labor that enters into a finished product constituted before the war 50 per cent of the cost of that product to the consumer. There never was a more preposterous statement uttered in the presence of any sober-minded, serious thinking legislative body. It is so utterly at variance with the facts that it ought not to need any answer. It was followed up by the statement that the labor cost was responsible for about 85 per cent of what people are paying now for ordinary articles.

Senators, do you know that there has been a real, scientific, thoroughgoing investigations as to the labor costs of different products? There has been, and there are some real, established truths on that subject which nobody can dispute. Of course, I

suppose there are people in this world who would scorn them because they think it does not make any difference. It makes a lot of difference. It has relation to the amount of tariff we should have. It has relation to what are reasonable demands upon the part of labor for their share of the wealth they produce.

In rough way, let me state some cost findings I think will not be controverted. This labor cost has a good deal to do with the tariff. I will state to my Democratic friends they will take it up one of these days and attach some importance to it. The labor value on the average in cotton goods does not exceed 25 per cent. On cotton goods, independent of hosiery, it will run about 20 per cent. That is the labor value in the article. You have had a tariff on it not representing the difference in labor cost between this country and competing countries, but you have had a tariff on it oftentimes representing more than the total labor cost of the article.

Take woollens. The labor cost does not exceed 20 to 25 per cent of the cost of woollens when put upon the market.

Upon other products, and very important products, too, the labor cost is very much less.

Iron is the basis of our industrial life. Iron and steel enter into almost everything as a part of the cost of production. So it is worth while for us to know something about the relative cost of the material and of labor in the production of iron and steel. That is a subject that always tempts me, and I must forbear to yield to the temptation to turn aside and discuss it.

I want to give you just a suggestion of the labor cost of producing steel and iron.

The report of the Bureau of Corporations on the cost of production in the steel industry issued May 6, 1913, is the most scientific, complete, and thorough-going investigation into the production cost of pig iron, ingots, steel rails, and heavier structural products ever made by any independent and impartial authority in this or any other country.

The investigation covered a period of nearly two years.

It embraced from 70 to 90 per cent of the total products of the respective articles discussed.

It includes nearly all of the manufacturing concerns making steel products, large and small.

Nothing short of a careful study of this report can convey an adequate idea of its scope and thoroughness in every detail.

As an example of its character, I quote one paragraph:

The meaning of the item of labor as forming a part of the mere costs of the several products needs brief explanation. The labor costs, as shown, represent in every instance the wages paid for all forms of producing labor for that particular product at that particular department of the works, including labor in repairs and maintenance.

Now, take pig iron, Mr. President. In Bessemer pig iron that costs \$12.10 to produce, the labor cost is 73 cents. That is the part that labor plays in the production.

A ton of pig iron that sold in 1912 for \$12.10 had in it as a part of the cost of producing it 73 cents of labor. The balance was made up of \$6.10, cost of iron ore; \$3.28, cost of coke; 43 cents, cost of limestone; 10 cents, cost of steam; 13 cents, cost of materials for repairs and maintenance; 12 cents, cost of supplies and tools; 24 cents, cost of miscellaneous work, expense; 18 cents, cost of relining and renewals; 3 cents for contingent fund; and 76 cents for general expense and depreciation.

Mr. President, the cost of that product to the American people has increased four or five hundred per cent, but the increase in the wages of labor in that industry has not been more than 70 or 80 per cent. Labor has received a very small share of the increased cost of that product. So with all the other products of iron and steel.

I am not going to take the time of the Senate to go through these various tables. I have them here. I am going to ask to print them in connection with my remarks and save time for the Senate in the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHURST in the chair). Without objection, the matter referred to by the Senator from Wisconsin will be inserted in the RECORD.

The tables referred to are as follows:

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade in North Atlantic States May 15, 1918.

Occupation.	Rate of wages per day.	
	Highest.	Lowest.
Bricklayers.....	\$5.95	\$5.15
Building laborers (evacuating scaffold men, etc.).....	3.82	2.40
Carpenters.....	5.20	4.33
Engineers (portable and hoisting).....	6.65	4.53
Hoist carriers.....	4.40	2.56
Painters.....	5.00	3.95

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade, etc.—Continued.

Occupation.	Rate of wages per day.	
	Highest.	Lowest.
Plasterers.....	\$5.85	\$4.58
Plasterers' laborers.....	4.12	2.50
Plumbers and gas fitters.....	5.50	4.12
Sheet-metal workers.....	5.50	2.75
Stonemasons.....	6.00	3.61
Structural iron workers.....	6.78	4.53
Structural iron workers (finishers' helpers).....	4.40	3.30
Blacksmiths.....	6.52	4.16
Boiler makers.....	6.30	4.77
Machinists.....	8.10	2.50
Machinists' helpers.....	4.03	3.20
Molders (iron).....	5.80	3.66
Pattern makers.....	7.00	2.75
Granite-cutters.....	5.72	3.66
Stonecutters.....	5.50	4.12

Pig iron costs in the United States.

Item.	Cost of Bessemer pig iron, 1902-1906.	Cost of basic pig iron, 1902-1906.	Steel Corporation cost of southern pig iron 1910. ¹
Iron ore, etc.....	\$6.10	\$6.63	\$2.83
Coke.....	3.28	2.73	3.80
Limestone.....	.43	.47	.13
Labor.....	.73	.60	.75
Steam.....	.10	.10	.12
Materials for repairs and maintenance.....	.13	.11	.19
Supplies and tools.....	.12	.10	.59
Miscellaneous works, expense.....	.24	.24	.59
Relining and renewals.....	.18	.18	.29
Contingent fund.....	.03	.02	.15
General expense and depreciation.....	.76	.52	.50
Total.....	12.10	11.82	9.07

¹ Mainly foundry pig.

The cost of production of ingots in United States.

The ingot is the second advanced form in the manufacturing of steel. An ingot is usually about 6 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 1½ feet thick. It weighs about 4 gross tons.

Item.	Cost of Bessemer billet ingots, 1902-1903.	Cost of Bessemer rail ingots, 1902-1903.	Steel Corporation cost of Bessemer rail ingots, 1910.
Pig iron, etc.....	\$12.81	\$12.73	\$10.24
Labor.....	.57	.55	.52
Manganese.....	.28	.73	.78
Limestone.....	.02	.01
Fuel.....	.22	.13	.07
Steam.....	.15	.11	.13
Molds and stools.....	.15	.11	.07
Materials in repairs and maintenance.....	.09	.10	.06
Supplies and tools.....	.10	.12	.23
Miscellaneous works expense.....	.13	.14	.28
General expense and depreciation.....	.92	1.05	.60
Total cost.....	15.47	15.75	12.77

¹ If the so-called "book costs" of the Bureau of Corporations had been used, these figures would have been \$17.53, \$17.53, and \$17.15, respectively. Perhaps it is fairer to use these costs.

The cost of production of Bessemer steel rails in United States.

Item.	Cost of heavy Bessemer rails, 1902-1905.	Steel Corporation cost of heavy standard Bessemer rails, 1910.	Steel Corporation cost of heavy standard open-hearth rails (southern), 1910.
Ingots.....	\$15.05	\$13.03	\$14.83
Labor.....	1.16	1.14	1.72
Fuel.....	.13	.16	.18
Steam.....	.41	.36	.73
Rolls.....	.15	.12	.46
Materials in repair and maintenance.....	.21	.17	.44
Supplies and tools.....	.08	.39	.85
Miscellaneous works expense.....	.32	.39	.85
General expense and depreciation.....	1.29	1.35	1.65
Total.....	18.87	16.67	20.89

¹ Book cost, \$21.27.

² Book cost, \$24.53.

Average costs for all companies in United States of certain rolled products.

Product.	Book cost per ton.	Labor.
Bessemer sheet bars.....	\$18.98	\$0.57
Open-hearth sheet bars.....	24.58	.88
Heavy rails.....	22.23	1.25
Light rails.....	24.24	2.32
Merchant steel bars:		
(1) From large billets.....	28.12	3.06
(2) From small billets.....	26.73	2.87
Hoops and light bands.....	31.67	5.04
Cotton tire.....	30.57	4.22
Wire rods.....	27.21	1.53
Bright coarse wire.....	29.12	1.62
Black sheets.....	39.37	10.39
Black plate for tinning.....	48.99	12.73
Tin plate (box of 100 pounds).....	3.18	.19
Tin plate (ton of 2,240 pounds).....	71.23	4.25

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I am inclined to think that I have brought to the attention of the Senate substantially all that I care to present here in connection with the pending bill. I believe that it can not be supported as a so-called war measure, neither do I believe that it can be supported as a peace measure, and I think it falls very far short of being a measure of charity. I apprehend from the expressions I have heard on the floor of the Senate that a majority of the Senate could not find constitutional warrant for supporting it on that ground.

I have brought to the attention of the Senate just a suggestion of the conditions that are rapidly developing and hourly growing more grave and serious in our own country. The afternoon paper that some one just brought to my attention prints further dispatches as to the grave conditions that exist here at home.

Then I desired to put on record here answers to the charges that have been made against the responsibility of labor for the high cost of living and for the unemployment that exists in the country to-day. I have no doubt, Mr. President, that the cost of living under existing conditions will advance rather than recede. I noticed by the evening paper—I think it was last evening—that one of the officers of the Quartermaster Department appearing before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives stated that from all the investigations and study that had been made by that department they were convinced that the cost of living would very rapidly advance in this country in the near future.

Mr. President, I do not know just how this is to be met by the people of the country. I do not believe that it will be helped any by our appropriating \$100,000,000 to buy in our market here at home great quantities of food and sending them abroad.

I believe that this appropriation will tend to advance the cost of living upon the people in our own country. I believe that with the readjustments that are now coming, with the evident desire on the part of employers to reduce wages, and the impossibility of wage earners accepting a reduction of wages so long as the high cost of living stands where it does to-day, will be productive of very serious disturbance here, and that we are to be confronted with problems that, added to those that we now have, will be, I fear, almost tragic. Therefore I felt that I owed a duty to myself and to my constituency, if not to the Senate, to lay before the Senate the facts with respect to these conditions, so that in voting upon this bill Senators may weigh its effect upon our home conditions as well as any possible good or ill effect it may have abroad.

I thank the Senate for its patience and attention.

APPENDIX.

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade in the North Atlantic States on May 15, 1918.

BUILDING TRADES.

Occupation and city.	Per hour.	Per week, full time.	For overtime, regular rate multiplied by—	For Sundays and holidays, regular rate multiplied by—
ASBESTOS WORKERS.				
Boston, Mass.....	\$0.625	\$27.50	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.....	.563	27.00	1½	2
Newark, N. J.....	.625	27.50	2	2
New York, N. Y.....	.625	27.50	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.....	.650	28.60	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	.625	27.50	1½	2
Providence, R. I.....	.625	27.50	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.....	.500	22.00	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.....	.625	27.50	2	2

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade, etc.—Continued.

BUILDING TRADES—continued.

Occupation and city.	Per hour.	Per week, full time.	For overtime, regular rate multiplied by—	For Sundays and holidays, regular rate multiplied by—
BRICKLAYERS.				
Boston, Mass.....	\$0.800	\$35.20	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.....	.700	30.80	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.....	.750	33.00	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.....	.750	33.00	1½	1½
Manchester, N. H.....	.750	33.00	1½	2
Newark, N. J.....	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.....	.700	30.80	2	2
New York, N. Y.....	.813	35.75	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.....	.800	35.20	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	.750	33.00	1½	2
Portland, Me.....	.700	30.80	1½	2
Providence, R. I.....	.700	30.80	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.....	.700	30.80	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.....	.750	33.00	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.....	.750	33.00	2	2
Worcester, Mass.....	.750	33.00	1½	2
BRICKLAYERS: SEWER WORK.				
Boston, Mass.....	.800	35.20	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.....	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.....	.875	38.50	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.....	.850	37.40	2	2
Providence, R. I.....	.800	35.20	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.....	.750	33.00	1½	2
BUILDING LABORERS.				
Boston, Mass.....	.400	19.20	1	2
Scaffold men.....	.450	21.60	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.....	.450	22.95	1½	2
New York, N. Y.:				
Excavating.....	.405	19.44	2	2
Mosaic and terrazzo work.....	.406	17.88	2	2
Stonemasons' work, Bronx.....	.470	20.68	1½	2
Stonemasons' work, Brooklyn.....	.470	20.68	1	1½
Philadelphia, Pa.....	.450	19.80	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	.450	21.60	1½	2
Portland, Me.....	.500	22.00	1½	2
Providence, R. I.....	.350	17.50	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.....	.400	17.60	1½	2
Excavating.....	.400	17.60	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.....	.300	14.40	1½	2
Excavating.....	.275	14.85	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.....	.375	18.00	1½	2
Scaffold builders.....	.500	22.00	2	2
CARPENTERS.				
Boston, Mass.....	.650	26.00	2	2
Stair builders.....	.650	26.00	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.....	.600	26.40	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.....	.700	30.80	2	2
Fall River, Mass.....	.625	27.50	2	2
Manchester, N. H.....	.600	26.40	1½	2
Newark, N. J.....	.700	30.80	2	2
New Haven, Conn.....	.650	28.60	2	2
New York, N. Y.:				
Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond.....	.688	30.25	2	2
Manhattan.....	.688	30.25	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.....	.700	30.80	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	.710	31.24	1½	2
Portland, Me.....	.440	19.36	1½	2
Providence, R. I.....	.600	26.40	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.....	.600	26.40	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.....	.600	26.40	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.....	.650	28.60	2	2
Worcester, Mass.....	.625	27.50	1½	2
CARPENTERS: MILLWRIGHTS.				
Buffalo, N. Y.....	.750	33.00	2	2
Newark, N. J.....	.700	30.80	2	2
New York, N. Y.....	.688	30.25	2	2
CARPENTERS: PARQUETRY-FLOOR LAYERS.				
Boston, Mass.....	.650	26.00	2	2
CARPENTERS: WHARF AND BRIDGE.				
Boston, Mass.....	.530	23.32	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.....	.650	28.60	1½	2
New York, N. Y.....	.623	27.50	2	2
CEMENT FINISHERS.				
Boston, Mass.....	.700	30.80	1½	2
Bridgeport, Conn.....	.700	30.80	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.....	.650	31.20	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.....	.750	33.00	1½	1½
Manchester, N. H.....	.750	33.00	1½	2
Newark, N. J.....	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.....	.700	30.80	2	2
New York, N. Y.....	.700	30.80	2	2

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade, etc.—Continued.
BUILDING TRADES—continued.

Occupation and city.	Per hour.	Per week, full time.	For overtime, regular rate multiplied by—	For Sundays and holidays, regular rate multiplied by—
CEMENT FINISHERS—continued.				
Philadelphia, Pa.	\$0.650	\$28.60	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.750	33.00	1½	2
Providence, R. I.	.625	27.50	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.750	33.00	2	2
CEMENT FINISHERS' HELPERS.				
Newark, N. J.	.450	19.80	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.438	19.25	1½	1½
COMPOSITION ROOFERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.656	28.88	2	2
Kettlemen and ladlemen	.600	26.40	2	2
Paper layers	.600	26.40	2	2
Newark, N. J.	.625	27.50	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.531	23.38	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.525	23.10	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.600	26.40	1	2
Kettlemen	.550	24.20	1½	2
Felt setters and roll runners	.550	24.20	1	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.500	22.00	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.531	25.50	1½	2
Second man	.469	22.50	1½	2
COMPOSITION ROOFERS' HELPERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.438	19.25	2	2
Newark, N. J.	.500	22.00	2	2
Scranton, Pa.	.375	18.00	1½	2
ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS.				
Boston, Mass.	.750	33.00	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.690	33.12	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.690	30.36	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.750	33.00	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.738	32.45	2	2
Providence, R. I.	.625	27.50	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.656	28.88	2	2
Springfield, Mass.	.656	28.88	2	2
Worcester, Mass.	.625	27.50	2	2
ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS' HELPERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.500	22.00	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.469	22.50	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.440	19.36	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.500	22.00	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.500	22.00	2	2
Providence, R. I.	.438	19.25	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.438	19.25	2	2
Springfield, Mass.	.445	19.58	2	2
Worcester, Mass.	.438	19.25	2	2
ENGINEERS: PORTABLE AND HOISTING.				
Boston, Mass.	.750	33.00	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.750	33.00	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.625	30.00	1½	2
Newark, N. J.	.813	35.75	2	2
Building work	.688	33.00	2	2
Foundation work	.750	33.00	2	2
Hoisting iron	.750	33.00	1½	2
New Haven, Conn.	.750	33.00	2	2
New York, N. Y.				
Building work, stone and steel	.750	33.00	2	2
Combination and compressor engine	.909	40.00	2	2
Excavating	.750	36.00	2	2
Foundation work	.818	36.00	2	2
Hoist elevators	.813	35.75	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.				
Boom derrick	.900	39.60	2	2
Hoist	.750	33.00	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Portland, Me.	.700	33.60	1½	2
Providence, R. I.	.625	27.50	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.750	33.00	2	2
Steam shovels, air compressors, etc.	.795	35.00	2	2
Scranton, Pa.	.625	30.00	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.750	33.00	2	2
Worcester, Mass.	.750	33.00	2	2
HOD CARRIERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.425	18.70	1½	2
Newark, N. J.	.450	19.80	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.470	20.68	1½	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.600	26.40	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.				
Mortar men	.550	24.20	1½	2
Wheelbarrow men	.450	19.80	1½	2

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade, etc.—Continued.
BUILDING TRADES—continued.

Occupation and city.	Per hour.	Per week, full time.	For overtime, regular rate multiplied by—	For Sundays and holidays, regular rate multiplied by—
HOD CARRIERS—continued.				
Portland, Me.	\$0.500	\$22.00	1½	2
Providence, R. I.	.380	19.00	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.400	17.60	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.350	15.40	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.500	22.00	2	2
Worcester, Mass.	.500	22.00	1½	2
INSIDE WIREMEN.				
Boston, Mass.	.700	30.80	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.600	26.40	1	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.	.600	26.40	2	2
Manchester, N. H.	.600	26.40	1½	2
Newark, N. J.	.688	30.25	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.600	26.40	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.650	28.60	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.650	28.60	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.688	30.25	1½	2
Portland, Me.	.650	31.20	1½	2
Providence, R. I.	.600	26.40	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.750	33.00	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.625	27.50	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.570	25.08	1½	2
Worcester, Mass.	.550	24.20	1½	2
INSIDE WIREMEN: FIXTURE HANGERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.650	28.60	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.500	24.00	1½	2
New York, N. Y.	.650	28.60	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.650	28.60	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.750	33.00	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.750	33.00	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.570	25.08	1½	2
LATHERS.				
Boston, Mass.				
Metal or wood	.750	30.00	2	2
Wood			2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.				
Metal or wood	.688	30.25	2	2
Wood			2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.				
Metal or wood	.625	30.00	1½	2
Wood			1½	2
Fall River, Mass.				
Metal	.600	26.40	1½	2
Wood			1	1
Newark, N. J.	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.688	30.25	2	2
New York, N. Y.				
Metal	.688	30.25	2	2
Metal or wood	.750	33.00	2	2
Wood			2	2
Brooklyn			2	2
Manhattan and Bronx			2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.				
Metal	.750	33.00	2	2
Wood	.750	33.00	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.				
Metal or wood	.688	30.25	1½	2
Wood			1½	2
Providence, R. I.				
Metal or wood	.700	30.80	2	2
Metal			2	2
Wood			2	2
Rochester, N. Y.				
Metal or wood	.600	26.40	1½	2
Metal or wood			1	1
Scranton, Pa.				
Metal	.600	26.40	1½	2
Wood			1	1
Springfield, Mass.				
Metal	.625	27.50	2	2
Wood			2	2
Worcester, Mass.				
Metal	.625	27.50	2	2
Wood			2	2
MARBLE SETTERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.750	33.00	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.700	30.80	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.750	36.00	1½	2
Newark, N. J.	.688	30.25	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.700	30.80	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.688	30.25	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.750	33.00	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.750	33.00	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.719	31.63	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.688	33.00	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.750	33.00	2	2

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade, etc.—Continued.
BUILDING TRADES—continued.

Occupation and city.	Per hour.	Per week, full time.	For overtime, regular rate multiplied by—	For Sundays and holidays, regular rate multiplied by—
MARBLE SETTERS' HELPERS.				
Boston, Mass.	\$0.425	\$18.70	1½	2
New York, N. Y.	.438	19.25	2	2
MOSAIC AND TERRAZZO WORKERS.				
New York, N. Y.	.625	27.50	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.:				
First class	.550	24.20	1½	2
Second class	.500	22.00	1½	2
Third class	.400	17.60	1½	2
PAINTERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.750	30.00	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.625	27.50	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.563	24.75	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.	.550	24.20	1½	2
Manchester, N. H.	.500	22.00	1½	2
Newark, N. J.	.625	27.50	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.531	23.38	2	2
New York, N. Y.:				
Brooklyn	.625	27.50	2	2
Manhattan, Bronx, and Richmond	.625	27.50	2	2
Queens	.625	27.50	2	2
All boroughs	.563	24.75	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.600	26.40	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.675	29.70	1½	2
Portland, Me.	.550	24.20	1½	2
Providence, R. I.	.625	27.50	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.625	27.50	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.500	22.00	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.600	26.40	1½	2
Worcester, Mass.	.625	27.50	1½	2
PAINTERS, FRESCO.				
Boston, Mass.	.800	32.00	2	2
Fall River, Mass.	.600	26.40	1½	2
New York, N. Y.	.625	27.50	2	2
Brooklyn	.875	38.50	2	2
Manhattan, Bronx, and Richmond	.625	27.50	2	2
Queens	.625	27.50	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.600	26.40	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.600	26.40	1½	2
Worcester, Mass.	.625	27.50	1½	2
PAINTERS, SIGN.				
Boston, Mass.	.688	30.25	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.625	30.00	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.750	33.00	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.750	33.00	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.688	30.25	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.725	31.90	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.625	27.50	2	2
Springfield, Mass.	.600	26.40	1½	2
Worcester, Mass.	.625	27.50	1½	2
PLASTERERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.700	28.00	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.700	30.80	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.700	30.80	2	2
Fall River, Mass.	.750	33.00	1½	2
Manchester, N. H.	.750	33.00	1½	2
Newark, N. J.	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.700	30.80	2	2
New York, N. Y.:				
Brooklyn	.750	33.00	2	2
Manhattan, Bronx, and Richmond	.750	33.00	2	2
Queens	.875	35.00	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.750	30.00	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.750	33.00	2	2
Portland, Me.	.800	35.20	2	2
Providence, R. I.	.688	27.50	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.750	33.00	2	2
Worcester, Mass.	.750	33.00	1½	2
PLASTERERS' LABORERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.500	20.00	2	2
Newark, N. J.	.450	19.80	2	2
New York, N. Y.:				
Brooklyn	.563	24.75	2	2
Queens	.500	22.00	2	2
All boroughs	.563	24.75	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.500	20.00	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.550	24.20	1½	2
Portland, Me.	.550	24.20	1½	2
Providence, R. I.	.500	22.00	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.400	17.60	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.350	15.40	1½	2
Worcester, Mass.	.550	24.20	1½	2

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade, etc.—Continued.
BUILDING TRADES—continued.

Occupation and city.	Per hour.	Per week, full time.	For overtime, regular rate multiplied by—	For Sundays and holidays, regular rate multiplied by—
PLUMBERS AND GAS FITTERS.				
Boston, Mass.:				
Plumbers	\$0.750	\$33.00	2	2
Gas fitters	.700	30.80	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.625	27.50	1	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.688	30.25	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.	.563	24.74	2	2
Manchester, N. H.	.500	22.00	1½	1½
Newark, N. J.	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.625	27.50	1	2
New York, N. Y.:				
Manhattan, Bronx, and Brooklyn	.750	33.00	2	2
Queens	.688	30.25	2	2
Richmond	.750	33.00	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.625	27.50	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.750	33.00	1½	2
Portland, Me.	.625	27.50	2	2
Providence, R. I.	.750	33.00	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.594	26.13	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.625	27.50	2	2
Springfield, Mass.	.614	27.00	2	2
Worcester, Mass.:				
Plumbers	.600	26.40	2	2
Gas fitters	.500	22.00	2	2
PLUMBERS' LABORERS.				
New York, N. Y.	.625	30.00	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.500	22.00	1½	2
SHEET-METAL WORKERS.				
Boston, Mass.:				
Building work	.700	30.80	2	2
Railroad shops	.680	32.64	1	1½
Bridgeport, Conn.	.625	27.50	1	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.563	27.00	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.	.500	22.00	2	2
Manchester, N. H.	.375	16.50	1½	1½
Newark, N. J.	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.:				
Building work	.591	26.00	2	2
Railroad shops	.680	32.64	1	1½
New York, N. Y.:				
Richmond	.700	30.80	2	2
All boroughs	.700	30.80	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.700	30.80	2	2
Shipyards	.700	30.80	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Portland, Me.:				
First class	.500	24.00	1½	2
Second class	.438	21.00	1½	2
Providence, R. I.	.570	25.08	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.563	24.75	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.563	24.75	2	2
Springfield, Mass.	.545	24.00	2	2
Worcester, Mass.	.523	22.99	1½	2
SHIP CARPENTERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.700	30.80	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.700	33.60	2	2
Do.	.700	33.60	2	2
Do.	.650	31.20	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.600	28.80	1½	2
Portland, Me.:				
First class	.700	33.60	1½	2
Second class	.650	31.20	1½	2
SLATE AND TILE ROOFERS.				
Bridgeport, Conn.	.625	27.50	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.600	28.80	1½	2
Newark, N. J.	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.688	30.25	1½	2
New York, N. Y.	.781	34.38	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.750	33.00	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.531	25.50	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.625	27.50	1½	2
STEAM FITTERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.688	30.25	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.625	27.50	1	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.688	30.25	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.	.600	26.40	2	2
Manchester, N. H.	.500	22.00	1½	1½
Newark, N. J.	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.625	27.50	1	2
New York, N. Y.	.750	33.00	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.625	27.50	2	2
Do.	.688	30.25	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.750	33.00	2	2
Portland, Me.	.625	27.50	2	2
Providence, R. I.	.650	28.60	2	2
Do.	.625	27.50	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.594	26.13	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.625	27.50	2	2
Springfield, Mass.	.568	25.00	2	2

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade, etc.—Continued.
BUILDING TRADES—continued.

Occupation and city.	Per hour.	Per week, full time.	For overtime, regular rate multiplied by—	For Sundays and holidays, regular rate multiplied by—
STEAM-FITTERS' HELPERS.				
Boston, Mass.	\$0.425	\$18.70	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.344	15.13	1	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.344	15.13	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.	.450	19.80	2	2
Newark, N. J.	.425	18.70	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.425	18.70	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.375	16.50	2	2
Do.	.375	16.50	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.438	19.25	2	2
Providence, R. I.	.375	16.50	2	2
Scranton, Pa.	.438	19.25	2	2
Springfield, Mass.	.341	15.00	2	2
Worcester, Mass.	.330	14.50	2	2
STONEMASONS.				
Boston, Mass.	.800	35.20	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.700	30.80	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.750	36.00	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.	.750	33.00	1½	1½
Newark, N. J.	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.700	30.80	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.750	33.00	2	2
Do.	.750	33.00	2	2
Do.	.813	35.75	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.650	28.60	1½	2
Portland, Me.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Providence, R. I.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Do.	.600	22.00	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.750	36.00	1½	2
Do.	.700	33.00	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.750	33.00	2	2
Worcester, Mass.	.650	28.60	1½	2
STRUCTURAL-IRON WORKERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.800	35.20	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.800	35.20	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.	.625	27.50	1½	2
Newark, N. J.	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.800	35.20	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.800	35.20	2	2
Brooklyn and Queens.	.800	35.20	2	2
Manhattan, Bronx, and Richmond.	.800	35.20	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.925	40.70	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.875	38.50	1½	2
Portland, Me.	.750	33.00	2	2
Providence, R. I.	.800	35.20	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.800	35.20	2	2
Scranton, Pa.	.688	33.00	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.688	30.25	2	2
Worcester, Mass.	.688	30.25	2	2
STRUCTURAL-IRON WORKERS: FINISHERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.800	35.20	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.800	35.20	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Newark, N. J.	.750	33.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.800	35.20	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.688	30.25	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.925	40.70	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.875	38.50	1½	2
Providence, R. I.	.800	35.20	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.800	35.20	2	2
Scranton, Pa.	.688	33.00	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.	.688	30.25	2	2
Worcester, Mass.	.688	30.25	2	2
STRUCTURAL-IRON WORKERS: FINISHERS' HELPERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.550	24.20	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.550	24.20	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.450	19.80	2	2
Newark, N. J.	.500	22.00	2	2
New Haven, Conn.	.550	24.20	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.500	22.00	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.600	26.40	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.450	19.80	2	2
Springfield, Mass.	.550	24.20	2	2
Worcester, Mass.	.500	22.00	2	2
TILE LAYERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.750	30.00	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.688	30.25	2	2
Buffalo, N. Y.	.625	30.00	1½	2
Newark, N. J.	.688	30.25	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.750	33.00	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.700	30.80	1½	2
Do.	.719	31.50	1½	2

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade, etc.—Continued.
BUILDING TRADES—continued.

Occupation and city.	Per hour.	Per week, full time.	For overtime, regular rate multiplied by—	For Sundays and holidays, regular rate multiplied by—
TILE LAYERS—continued.				
Pittsburgh, Pa.	\$0.675	\$29.70	1½	2
Providence, R. I.	.688	30.25	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.	.625	27.50	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.600	26.40	1½	2
TILE LAYERS' HELPERS.				
Boston, Mass.	.438	17.50	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.	.413	18.15	2	2
Newark, N. J.	.406	17.88	2	2
New York, N. Y.	.406	17.88	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	.438	18.48	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	.438	19.25	1½	2
Providence, R. I.	.375	16.50	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.	.313	13.75	1½	2
METAL TRADES.				
BLACKSMITHS.				
Boston, Mass.: Railroad shops, road A.	\$0.680	\$32.64	1	1½
Railroad shops, road B.	.680	32.64	1	1½
Buffalo, N. Y.: Manufacturing and jobbing shops.	.650	28.60	1½	2
New Haven, Conn.: Railroad shops.	.680	32.64	1	1½
New York, N. Y.: Manufacturing and jobbing shops— Manhattan, Bronx, and Queens.	.725	34.80	2	2½
Brooklyn.	.725	34.80	2	2½
Philadelphia, Pa.: Manufacturing and jobbing— Shops A.	.725	39.15	1½	2
Shops B.	.725	31.90	1½	2
Railroad shops.	.680	32.64	1	1½
Shipyards.	.825	36.30	2	2
Do.	.725	31.90	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.: Manufacturing shops.	.500	25.00	1½	1½
Do.	.575	27.60	1½	2
Railroad shops.	.680	32.64	1	1½
Portland, Me.: Manufacturing and jobbing shops.	.500	25.00	2	2
Railroad shops.	.680	32.64	1	1½
BLACKSMITHS' HELPERS.				
Boston, Mass.: Railroad shops, road A.	.450	21.60	1	1½
Railroad shops, road B.	.450	21.60	1	1½
Buffalo, N. Y.: Manufacturing and jobbing shops.	.450	19.80	1½	2
New Haven, Conn.: Railroad shops.	.450	21.60	1	1½
New York, N. Y.: Manufacturing and jobbing shops.	.460	22.08	2	2½
Philadelphia, Pa.: Manufacturing and jobbing— Shops A.	.500	27.00	1½	2
Shops B.	.500	22.00	1½	2
Railroad shops.	.450	21.60	1	1½
Shipyards.	.565	24.85	2	2
Do.	.460	20.24	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.: Manufacturing shops.	.435	20.88	1½	2
Do.	.380	19.00	1½	1½
Railroad shops.	.450	21.60	1	1½
Portland, Me.: Manufacturing and jobbing shops.	.450	23.85	1½	1½
Springfield, Mass.: Manufacturing and jobbing shops.	.360	18.00	2	2
Railroad shops.	.450	21.60	1	1½
BOILER MAKERS.				
Boston, Mass.: Railroad shops, road A.	.680	32.64	1	1½
Do.	.680	32.64	1	1½
Railroad shops, road B.	.680	32.64	1	1½
Buffalo, N. Y.: Manufacturing shops.	.700	37.80	1½	1½
Do.	.339	28.62	1½	1½
Outside.	.625	33.00	1½	2
Railroad shops, road A.	.680	32.64	1	1½
Railroad shops, road B.	.680	32.64	1	1½
Railroad shops, road C.	.680	32.64	1	1½
Railroad shops, road E.	.680	32.64	1	1½
Railroad shops, road F.	.680	32.64	1	1½

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade, etc.—Continued.

METAL TRADES—continued.

Occupation and city.	Per hour.	Per week, full time.	For overtime, regular rate multiplied by—	For Sundays and holidays, regular rate multiplied by—
MACHINISTS' HELPERS—contd.				
New Haven, Conn.:				
Outside.....	\$0.450	\$21.60	1½	2
Railroad shops.....	.450	21.60	1	1½
New York, N. Y.:				
Manufacturing shops.....	.438	21.00	1½	2
Outside.....	.438	19.25	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.:				
Railroad shops, A.....	.450	21.60	1	1½
Railroad shops, B.....	.450	21.60	1	1½
Portland, Me.:				
Railroad shops.....	.450	21.60	1	1½
Providence, R. I.:				
Breweries.....	.375	18.00	2	2
Railroad shops.....	.450	21.60	1	1½
Springfield, Mass.:				
Railroad shops.....	.450	21.60	1	1½
Worcester, Mass.:				
Railroad shops, A.....	.450	21.60	1	1½
Railroad shops, B.....	.450	21.60	1	1½
METAL POLISHERS AND BUFFERS.				
Boston, Mass.:	.469	22.50	1½	2
Bridgeport, Conn.:				
Shops A.....	.346	16.61	1½	2
Shops B.....	.400	19.20	1½	2
Shops C.....	.380	18.24	1½	1½
Buffalo, N. Y.:				
Shops A.....	.400	21.60	1½	1½
Shops B.....	.360	19.80	1½	1½
Newark, N. J.:				
Shops A.....	.550	30.25	1½	2
Shops B.....	.560	29.12	1½	2
Shops D.....	.570	27.36	1½	2
Shops E.....	.500	24.75	1½	2
Shops F.....	.550	29.70	1½	2
Shops G.....	.600	30.00	1½	2
Shops H.....	.650	31.20	1½	2
New Haven, Conn.:	.420	23.10	1	1
New York.....	.700	33.60	2	2
Do.....	.700	30.80	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.:				
Shops A.....	.400	20.00	1½	2
Shops B.....	.646	31.00	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.:				
Shops A.....	.540	29.16	2	2
Shops C.....	.600	26.40	2	2
Shops D.....	.600	28.80	2	2
Jobbing shops.....	.600	26.40	2	2
Rochester, N. Y.:				
Shops A.....	.575	28.46	1½	2
Shops B.....	.450	22.28	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.:				
Shops A.....	.480	23.04	1½	2
Shops B.....	.580	27.84	1½	2
Shops C.....	.600	30.00	1½	2
MOLDERS: IRON.				
Boston, Mass.:				
Iron and brass.....	.583	31.50	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.:				
Iron and brass.....	.583	31.50	1½	2
Bridgeport, Conn.:				
Iron and brass.....	.417	22.50	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.:	.500	27.00	1½	2
Newark, N. J.:				
Iron.....	.556	30.00	1½	2
Brass.....	.560	28.00	1½	2
New York, N. Y.:				
Iron.....	.528	28.50	1½	2
Iron and brass, marine work.....	.725	34.80	1½	2
Philadelphia, Pa.:	.688	33.00	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.:				
Iron and brass.....	.656	31.50	1½	2
Portland, Me.:	.556	30.00	1½	2
Providence, R. I.:	.400	22.00	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.:				
Iron and brass.....	.583	31.50	1½	2
Scranton, Pa.:				
Iron and brass, machinery.....	.556	30.00	1½	2
Hot water and steam heating.....	.583	31.50	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.:				
Iron and brass.....	.556	30.00	1½	2
Do.....	.560	27.00	1½	2
PATTERN MAKERS.				
Boston, Mass.:				
Manufacturing shops.....	.750	36.00	1½	1½
Jobbing shops.....	.800	38.40	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.:				
Manufacturing shops.....	.750	36.00	1½	2
Jobbing shops.....	.800	38.40	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.:				
Manufacturing shops, A.....	.730	39.42	2	2
Manufacturing shops, B.....	.750	37.50	2	2
Manufacturing shops, C.....	.720	36.72	2	2
Manufacturing shops, D.....	.750	36.00	2	2

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade, etc.—Continued.

METAL TRADES—continued.

Occupation and city.	Per hour.	Per week, full time.	For overtime, regular rate multiplied by—	For Sundays and holidays, regular rate multiplied by—
PATTERN MAKERS—continued.				
Jobbing shops.....	\$0.725	\$31.90	2	2
Newark, N. J.:				
Manufacturing shops.....	.750	36.00	2	2
Jobbing shops.....	.800	35.20	2	2
New Haven, Conn.:	.600	30.00	1½	2
New York, N. Y.:				
Manufacturing shops, A.....	.900	39.60	2	2
Manufacturing shops, B.....	.750	36.00	2	2
Manufacturing shops, C.....	.750	36.00	2	2
Manufacturing shops, D.....	.750	36.00	2	2
Jobbing shops.....	.850	37.40	2	2
Architectural work, wood.....	.750	33.00	2	2
Architectural work, plaster.....	.670	29.48	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.:				
Manufacturing shops, A.....	.750	33.00	1½	2
Manufacturing shops, B.....	.750	37.13	1½	2
Manufacturing shops, C.....	.750	33.00	1½	2
Jobbing shops, A.....	.750	33.00	1½	2
Jobbing shops, B.....	.750	33.00	2	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.:				
Manufacturing shops.....	.750	39.00	1½	2
Jobbing shops.....	.800	40.00	1½	2
Providence, R. I.:	.600	33.00	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.:	.620	29.76	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.:	.675	32.40	2	2
Worcester, Mass.:	.600	33.00	1½	2
FREIGHT HANDLERS.				
Boston, Mass.:				
Coal handlers.....	\$0.306	\$16.50	1½	1½
Coastwise.....	.480	25.90	(1)
General cargo.....	.500	27.00	(2)	(2)
Longshoremen.....	.305	18.00	1½	2
Railroad A.....	.290	17.40	1
Railroad B.....	.290	17.40	1½	1½
Railroad C.....	.290	17.40	1½	1½
Sugar, molasses, oranges.....	.600	32.40	(2)	(2)
Buffalo, N. Y.:				
Elevator men.....	.380	22.78	2	2
Elevator men's helpers and car gang.....	.300	18.00	2	2
Package freight handlers, Union A.....	.500	30.00	1	1
Package freight handlers, Union B.....	.420	25.20	1	1
New York, N. Y.:				
Beef handlers.....	.700	37.80	(4)	(4)
General cargo, coastwise vessels.....	.480	25.92	(1)	(1)
General cargo, foreign-bound vessels.....	.500	27.00	1½	2
Lumber, stone, sand, and coal handlers.....	.350	21.00	1½	2
Munition handlers.....	1.000	54.00	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.:				
Grain handlers.....	.600	36.00	1½	2
Lumber handlers.....	.600	33.00	1½	2
Longshoremen.....	.500	30.00	1½	2
Munition handlers.....	.700	42.00	1½	2
Oil handlers.....	.650	39.00	1½	2
Portland, Me.:	.500	27.00	1½	2
GRANITE AND STONE TRADES.				
GRANITE CUTTERS.				
Boston, Mass.:				
Outside.....	\$0.630	\$27.72	1½	2
Do.....	.780	34.32	1½	2
Inside.....	.600	26.40	1½	2
Machine.....	.638	28.05	1½	2
Bridgeport, Conn.:				
Outside.....	.625	27.50	1½	2
Inside.....	.625	27.50	1½	2
Machine.....	.675	29.70	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.:				
Outside.....	.631	27.78	1½	2
Inside.....	.631	27.78	1½	2
Machine.....	.750	33.00	1½	2
Fall River, Mass.:				
Outside and machine.....	.656	28.86	1½	2
Manchester, N. H.:				
Inside.....	.500	22.00	1½	2
Newark, N. J.:				
Outside.....	.625	27.50	1½	2
Inside.....	.625	27.50	1½	2
New Haven, Conn.:				
Outside.....	.600	26.40	1½	2
Inside.....	.600	26.40	1½	2

1 70 cents per hour.
2 75 cents per hour.

3 \$1 per hour.
4 95 cents per hour.

5 \$1.20 per hour.
6 90 cents per hour.

Union scale of wages and hours of labor in each trade, etc.—Continued.
GRANITE AND STONE TRADES—continued.

Occupation and city.	Per hour.	Per week, full time.	For overtime, regular rate multiplied by—	For Sundays and holidays, regular rate multiplied by—
GRANITE CUTTERS—continued.				
New York, N. Y.:				
Outside.....	\$0.688	\$30.25	2	2
Do.....	.750	33.00	2	2
Inside.....	.688	30.25	2	2
Machine.....	.688	30.25	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.:				
Outside.....	.700	30.80	1½	2
Inside.....	.650	28.60	1½	2
Machine.....	.700	30.80	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.:				
Outside.....	.750	33.00	2	2
Inside and machine.....	.625	27.50	2	2
Portland, Me.:	.600	26.40	2	2
Providence, R. I.:				
Outside and inside.....	.600	26.40	1½	2
Machine.....	.650	28.60	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.:	.640	28.16	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.:				
Outside and inside.....	.600	26.40	2	2
Machine.....	.663	29.15	2	2
Worcester, Mass.:				
Outside and inside.....	.600	26.40	1½	2
Machine.....	.630	27.72	1½	2
STONECUTTERS.				
Poston, Mass.:				
Outside.....	.750	33.00	2	2
Inside.....	.700	30.80	2	2
Bridgeport, Conn.:	.625	27.50	1½	2
Buffalo, N. Y.:	.625	27.50	1½	2
Newark, N. J.:				
First class.....	.688	30.25	1½	1½
Second class.....	.688	30.25	1½	1½
New Haven, Conn.:	.600	26.40	1½	2
New York, N. Y.:				
First class.....	.688	30.25	2	2
Second class.....	.688	30.25	2	2
Bluestone.....	.688	30.25	2	2
Philadelphia, Pa.:				
Outside.....	.700	30.80	1½	2
Inside.....	.650	28.60	1½	2
Pittsburgh, Pa.:	.660	29.04	1½	2
Providence, R. I.:	.625	27.50	1½	2
Rochester, N. Y.:	.700	30.80	1½	1½
Scranton, Pa.:				
Outside and inside.....	.563	24.75	1½	2
Machine men.....	.500	27.00	1½	2
Springfield, Mass.:	.563	24.75	1½	2

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING in the chair). The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole. In the absence of objection, they will be concurred in. The Chair hears none, and the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole are concurred in. The bill is in the Senate and open to further amendment.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho suggests the absence of a quorum. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hale	McLean	Smith, Mich.
Bankhead	Harding	McNary	Smoot
Borah	Hardwick	Martin, Ky.	Swanson
Brandegee	Henderson	Martin, Va.	Thomas
Calder	Hitchcock	Moses	Trammell
Coit	Hollis	Myers	Underwood
Culberson	Johnson, Cal.	New	Wadsworth
Cummins	Johnson, S. Dak.	Nugent	Walsh
Curtis	Jones, Wash.	Overman	Warren
Fernald	Kenyon	Polindexter	Williams
Fletcher	Knox	Pollock	Wolcott
France	La Follette	Pomerene	
Frelinghuysen	Lenroot	Ransdell	
Gay	McKellar	Sheppard	

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-three Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I presume we are about to take a vote on the pending bill.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. Yes; I think so.

Mr. BORAH. That being the situation, I shall detain the Senate but a moment, and Senators need not leave their seats.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I simply want to make a few closing remarks in this debate. I think this bill presents the most extraordinary situation which has ever been presented to

the Senate; certainly in my service, and I believe, in all probability, in the service of anyone within the sound of my voice.

It is an open secret, Mr. President, that not 5 per cent of the Senate are in favor of this bill. When I say that I mean that they would never have initiated any such movement, and the bill does not receive their unqualified indorsement, notwithstanding that they may feel constrained, under certain conditions which exist, to vote for it. I have heard only two Senators speak upon the floor who did not apologize for the vote which they were going to cast. It is an extraordinary situation.

The war for democracy closed upon the 11th of November last, and the peace conference met some several weeks thereafter. Within a very few days after they had gathered at Paris the world was informed that only such information as the organization there saw fit to give out would be given to the world with reference to the proceedings of that august assembly. When that statement was made I presume we all waited, some with anxiety, to know what kind of communications would really be given out. Now, from day to day we have had those communications. They mean absolutely nothing; there is not the slightest information. The only information which is given out is the fact that they met—that is, as to facts—and adjourned, neither of which facts are any longer of any great concern in view of the procrastinating progress which they are making. But as to what is considered, as to what is discussed, as to the opinions which have been expressed, as to the conditions which have been revealed, and as to the situations which are there not a particle of information is given in order that the world may be informed what is going on.

That, Mr. President, is an open violation of the most solemn pledge made by the President of the United States; made undoubtedly in the firm belief that it would be carried out; made undoubtedly in the belief that it ought to be carried out; made undoubtedly in the belief that it was essential to the formation of a peace treaty which would receive the commendation of the judgment of the world.

So, Mr. President, we have entered upon the European program of entangling alliances, and before we have passed the first milestone this Republic has accepted the fundamental principle of absolutism in government; before a fortnight has passed after we have entered into European affairs the Republic puts off her principles and accedes to the doctrine of absolutism. How far are we going to travel upon this road?

Now, Mr. President, comes the proposition that the American people, through their representatives, shall not exercise their judgment, but shall yield to a decree which has gone forth from this same assembly, the proceedings of which are kept secret from us; and Senators here, out of mortal dread and mortal fear of doing something that they ought not to do, are yielding their judgment in casting their votes at this time, and we, here in the Senate Chamber, are yielding also to the principle of acting without information and upon the dictation of those who are holding their sessions in secret.

So, Mr. President, not much time has passed since the armistice, but we have traveled a long distance. I am not a prophet, but I venture to say we are near the turning point; I venture to say that that lane is a short lane.

Let me read a single paragraph from a New York morning newspaper:

Forty THOUSAND SERVICE MEN SEEKING JOBS IN CITY—NEARLY THIRD OF THEM ARE STRANGERS DEMOBILIZED HERE, AUTHORITIES BELIEVE—PROBLEM CALLED SERIOUS.

Forty thousand men just out of the Army and Navy are looking for jobs in New York. Fifteen thousand of them are strangers who decided to stay here instead of going home to look for work. The number of unemployed in the city almost doubles every week.

"The situation is serious and it soon may become alarming," is the way Dr. George W. Kirchwey, State director of the United States Employment Service, put it yesterday.

Mr. President, the conference at Paris may hold their secret sessions; they may dole out little statements, which mean nothing and inform us of no facts, and we here may yield our judgment out of very awe for the secrecy of the situation and vote upon the American people a tax of \$100,000,000; but I venture to say that the first ship that leaves New York, with hungry men standing about the wharf, will reveal the secret as to where it is going and why it is going. Do you suppose that the people of this country will go hungry in order to sustain and stabilize the prices which war has brought upon us or to protect a few powerful interests? Do you suppose that they will permit these vessels to leave while their children and their families are begging for that which they are unable to give them in a free land? Blindly and subserviently we are contributing our influence to the cause of unrest and strife.

Mr. President, if the Senate of the United States had all the information which it is entitled to have, it would not vote the

passage of this bill. I know the influence behind this bill. It is a sinister and intolerable influence, and the people of this country will not submit long to legislation put through under such influences and for such purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the amendments be ordered to be engrossed and the bill read a third time?

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BRANDEGEE (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS]. In his absence and not knowing how he would vote if present, I withhold my vote.

Mr. COLT (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY]. As he, if present, would vote as I am about to vote, I feel at liberty to vote, and therefore vote "yea."

Mr. CUMMINS (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS]. If he were present, he would vote "yea." If I were at liberty to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. SMITH of Michigan (when his name was called). I have a pair with the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED]. In his absence I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] and vote "yea."

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). I am paired with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH]. I understand that that Senator, if present, would vote as I shall vote, and I am therefore at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. THOMAS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER], who is absent. In his absence I withhold my vote. If I were at liberty to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. TOWNSEND (when his name was called). I have a pair with the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON]. Not knowing how he would vote on this question, I withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. HARDWICK (when Mr. VARDAMAN's name was called). I have been requested to announce that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN] is out of the city on business of the Senate. If he were present, he would vote "nay." He is paired on this question with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. SUTHERLAND].

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. KELLOGG. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. NELSON] has been compelled to leave the Chamber on account of illness. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. WARREN. My colleague [Mr. KENDRICK] is unavoidably absent. He is paired with the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL].

Mr. BECKHAM. I have a general pair with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. SUTHERLAND]. I understand that if he were present he would vote "yea." I shall therefore vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. TOWNSEND. I transfer my pair with the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON] to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BAIRD] and vote "nay."

Mr. SHEPPARD. I wish to announce that my colleague, the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] is necessarily detained from the Senate. If present, he would vote for the bill.

Mr. GERRY. I desire to announce that the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. VARDAMAN], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] are absent on official business.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I wish to announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is absent on account of illness. He is paired with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. DILLINGHAM]. If present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. POLLOCK. I desire to announce that the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] is detained from the Senate by illness. He is paired with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING]. If present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. DILLINGHAM] with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH];

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK]; and

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GOFF] with the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN].

The result was announced—yeas 53, nays 18, as follows:

YEAS—53.

Ashurst	Johnson, S. Dak.	Phelan	Sterling
Bankhead	Jones, Wash.	Pittman	Swanson
Beckham	Kellogg	Pollock	Thompson
Chamberlain	Kirby	Pomerene	Trammell
Colt	Knox	Ransdell	Underwood
Curtis	Lenroot	Saulsbury	Wadsworth
Fletcher	Lodge	Shaforth	Walsh
Frelinghuysen	McLean	Sheppard	Warren
Gay	Martin, Ky.	Simmons	Weeks
Gerry	Martin, Va.	Smith, Ariz.	Williams
Hale	New	Smith, Ga.	Wolcott
Henderson	Nugent	Smith, Mich.	
Hitchcock	Overman	Smoot	
Hollis	Page	Spencer	

NAYS—18.

Borah	Harding	McNary	Sherman
Calder	Hardwick	Moses	Townsend
Fernald	Johnson, Cal.	Myers	Watson
France	Kenyon	Penrose	
Gore	La Follette	Polindexter	

NOT VOTING—25.

Baird	Gronna	Nelson	Smith, S. C.
Brandeggee	Jones, N. Mex.	Norris	Sutherland
Culberson	Kendrick	Owen	Thomas
Cummins	King	Reed	Vardaman
Dillingham	Lewis	Robinson	
Fall	McCumber	Shields	
Goff	McKellar	Smith, Md.	

So the bill was passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill providing for the relief of such populations in Europe, and countries contiguous thereto, outside of Germany, German-Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, as may be determined upon by the President as necessary."

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Senate request a conference with the House of Representatives on the bill and amendments, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. MARTIN of Virginia, Mr. OVERMAN, and Mr. WARREN conferees on the part of the Senate.

VALIDATION OF WAR CONTRACTS.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I am going to ask unanimous consent to take up a bill for consideration, but I am not going to ask that it be considered to-day. I should like to have it proceeded with the next time the Senate convenes; and I therefore ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 13274.

Mr. PENROSE. What is the bill?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. It is a bill to validate contracts that have been informally made. After it has been made the unfinished business I shall ask that it shall be laid aside until the next convening of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator move to take it up now?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I do.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. President, it is impossible to hear what is being said.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Oregon moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 13274.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 13274) to provide relief where formal contracts have not been made in the manner required by law, which had been reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. President, I ask that the bill be laid aside until the next convening of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

BUREAU OF WAR RISK INSURANCE.

Mr. THOMAS. From the Committee on Finance I report back favorably, without amendment, the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 214) authorizing and directing the accounting officers of the Treasury to allow credit to the disbursing clerk of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in certain cases, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution, which was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That for such reasonable time as may be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, but not extending beyond the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, the accounting officers of the Treasury are hereby authorized and directed to allow credit in the accounts of the disbursing clerk of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance for all payments of insurance installments heretofore or hereafter made under the provi-

sions of Article IV of the war-risk insurance act in advance of the verification of the deduction on the pay rolls or of the payment otherwise of all premiums.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the reason for the passage of this joint resolution is set forth in a very short letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, which I ask to have read.

Mr. PENROSE. I suggest that the Senator have it printed in the Record.

Mr. THOMAS. I will ask to have it printed in the Record.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, that order will be made.

The letter referred to is as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 16, 1919.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have the honor to submit herewith a proposed joint resolution and to outline, briefly, the seriousness of the situation which confronts the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and which makes it imperative important that the bureau turn to the Congress for a solution.

The accounting officers of the Treasury can not, under the laws governing the performance of their duties, allow credit to the disbursing clerk of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance for the payment of insurance installments on awards made under the authority of Article IV of the war-risk insurance act, unless the director of the bureau certifies that the premiums on such insurance have been paid. Insurance premiums are paid largely, almost wholly, by deductions on the pay rolls while the men are in the service; and I am advised that it is impossible at the present time, with the accounts unadjusted between the War Department and the bureau, for the director to make the required certificate. The necessary consequence of his inability to do so is, first, that the accounting officers will be unable to allow credit in these cases, and, second, that the disbursing clerk of the bureau will be compelled to suspend payments on these awards. In other words, it means that payments on awards of contract insurance under the war-risk insurance act must be suspended. The disastrous consequences of such action on the part of the bureau can not be overestimated.

The joint resolution here proposed will authorize and direct the accounting officers to allow credit to the disbursing clerk in these cases and will enable the bureau to continue the payments. The necessity for the adoption of the resolution is urgent, and the Treasury Department recommends it with the utmost earnestness.

Sincerely, yours,

CARTER GLASS,
Secretary.

Hon. F. M. SIMMONS,
Chairman Committee on Finance, United States Senate.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. MARTIN of Virginia. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 10 minutes spent in executive session, the doors were reopened.

RECESS.

Mr. GAY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 11 o'clock a. m. Sunday for the purpose of eulogies.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until Sunday, January 26, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 24 (legislative day of Monday, January 20), 1919.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

Grosvenor M. Jones, of Ohio, to be First Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, vice Chauncey D. Snow, reappointed as trade commissioner (by promotion from Second Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce).

Roy S. MacElwee, of New York, to be (Second) Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, vice Grosvenor M. Jones, nominated for (first) assistant chief of bureau.

SOLICITOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

D. M. Kelleher, of Fort Dodge, Iowa, to be solicitor of internal revenue, vice Ballantine, resigned.

SECRETARY OF EMBASSY OR LEGATION.

Clarence B. Hewes, of Jeanerette, La., to be a secretary of embassy or legation of class 4 of the United States of America.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONIES.

Henry James Holmes, of Glenwood Springs, Colo., to be receiver of public moneys at Glenwood Springs, vice Francis H. Selhort, term expired.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

Hugh M. Morris, of Wilmington, Del., to be United States district judge, district of Delaware, vice Edward G. Bradford, deceased.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

Thomas D. Warren, of New Bern, N. C., to be United States attorney, eastern district of North Carolina, vice James O. Carr, resigned.

Hiram M. Smith, of Richmond, Va., to be United States attorney, eastern district of Virginia, vice Richard H. Mann, resigned. (Mr. Smith is now serving as district attorney under appointment by the court.)

Erle Pettus, of Birmingham, Ala., to be United States attorney, northern district of Alabama, vice Robert N. Bell, deceased.

James A. Smiser, of Juneau, Alaska, to be United States attorney, District of Alaska, division No. 1. A reappointment, his term expiring January 30, 1919.

John F. A. Merrill, of Portland, Me., to be United States attorney, district of Maine. A reappointment, his term expiring February 15, 1919.

Samuel K. Dennis, of Baltimore, Md., to be United States attorney, district of Maryland. A reappointment, his term having expired.

UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

John Hugh Kirkpatrick, of Shreveport, La., to be United States marshal, western district of Louisiana. A reappointment, his term having expired.

William W. Stockham, of Baltimore, Md., to be United States marshal, district of Maryland. A reappointment, his term having expired.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

To be second lieutenants with rank from November 1, 1918.

Cadet James Logan Rhoads.
Cadet David Ayres Depue Ogden.
Cadet Howard Louis Peckham.
Cadet Randolph Piersol Williams.

INFANTRY ARM.

To be second lieutenants with rank from November 1, 1918.

Cadet Robert Alwin Schow.
Cadet Thomas Markham Brinkley.
Cadet James Coachman Cullens, jr.
Cadet Reginald Worth Hubbell.
Cadet Jessie Lewis Gibney.

NOTE.—The above-named cadets were nominated to the Senate for said appointments on November 18, 1918, and were confirmed by that body on November 21, 1918, under the names James Logan Rhoades, David Ayer Dupue Ogden, Howard Louis Peckham, Randolph Pierson Williams, Robert Alvin Schow, Thomas Markham Brinkley, John Coachman Cullens, jr., Reginald Hubbell, and Jesse Lewis Gibney, respectively. This message is submitted for the purpose of correcting errors in the names of the nominees.

To be second lieutenants with rank from November 1, 1918.

Cadet Robert Gibbins Gard.
Cadet Sydney Ward Gould.
Cadet Joseph Vincil Phelps.
Cadet Luther Lyons Hill.
Cadet Lester DeLong Flory.
Cadet Henry Ellis Sanderson, jr.
Cadet William Leighton McEnery.
Cadet Albert Sidney Johnston Stovall, jr.
Cadet Wayne Clifton Zimmerman.
Cadet Josiah Toney Dalbey.
Cadet John Francis Lavagnino.
Cadet Archie William Cooley.

NOTE.—The above-named cadets were nominated to the Senate for said appointments on November 18, 1918, and were confirmed by that body on November 21, 1918, under the names Robert Gibbons Gard, Sidney Ward Gould, Joseph Vincil Phelps, Butler Lyons Hill, Leslie DeLong Flory, Harris Ellis Sanderson, jr., William Lighton McEnery, Albert Sidney Johnston Stovall, jr., Harold Clifton Zimmerman, Josiah Tony Dalbey, John Francis Lavagnino, and Archie William Cooley, respectively. This message is submitted for the purpose of correcting errors in the names of the nominees.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Medical Inspector James C. Pryor to be a medical director in the Navy with rank of captain from the 1st day of July, 1918.

Pay Inspector Joseph J. Cheatham to be a pay director in the Navy with the rank of captain from the 1st day of July, 1917.

Paymaster James C. Hilton to be a pay inspector in the Navy with the rank of commander from the 22d day of September, 1918.

Lieut. Henry M. Jensen to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 23d day of May, 1917.

Midshipman John C. Williams to be an ensign in the Navy from the 7th day of June, 1918.

John B. Flanigan, electrician third class, to be an ensign in the Navy, for temporary service, from the 15th day of December, 1918.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate January 24 (legislative day of Monday, January 20), 1919.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

Joseph B. Eastman to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

APPOINTMENT IN THE NAVY.

John B. Flanigan to be an ensign in the Navy for temporary service.

POSTMASTER.

MINNESOTA.

William Hope, Morris.

WITHDRAWALS.

Executive nominations withdrawn from the Senate January 24 (legislative day of Monday, January 20), 1919.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

DENTAL CORPS.

To be first lieutenants with rank from November 30, 1918.

First Lieut. David L. England.

First Lieut. Erwin F. Bence.

First Lieut. Glen D. Lacy.

First Lieut. Harold S. Whitney.

The officers above mentioned were nominated to the Senate December 4, 1918.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, January 24, 1919.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. S. J. Blum, D. D., of Bethlehem, Pa., offered the following prayer:

Lord God, our heavenly Father, we lift up our hearts to Thee in grateful praise and adoration. Thy mercies are new unto us every day and great is Thy faithfulness. Thou art ever ready to help us and to bestow upon us the things Thou seest we need which are for our highest and best good. We pray for Thy blessing upon the Members of this body in the discharge of their patriotic duties to their country. We pray for Thy blessing, too, upon the President of the United States as he sits at the peace table in Paris with the representatives of other nations. Give him wisdom and knowledge to pursue such a course as shall tend to lasting peace among the civilized nations of the world. This we ask in the name of Jesus Christ, our blessed Savior and Redeemer. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bill of the following title:

S. 41. An act to authorize the sale of certain lands at or near Yellowstone, Mont., for hotel and other purposes.

Mr. LAZARO, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

H. R. 12881. An act to increase the cost of the public building at Eldorado, Kans.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT EUREKA, UTAH.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 3384) amending the public-building act approved March 4, 1913.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title to the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

S. 3384. To amend the public-building act approved March 4, 1913.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, what is the bill?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. A bill to allow the Secretary of the Treasury to accept title at Eureka, Utah, waiving the mineral rights. We have passed a good many of these bills.

Mr. MANN. Let us have the bill reported.

The Clerk read as follows:

An act (S. 3384) to amend the public-building act approved March 4, 1913.

Be it enacted, etc. That the provision of the public-building act approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stat., p. 876), which authorizes the acquisition of a suitable site, etc., at Eureka, Utah, be, and the same is

hereby, amended so as to add the following proviso, namely: "Provided, That the Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, accept a title which reserves or excepts all ores or minerals on the lands with the right of mining the same."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill may be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. CLARK of Florida, a motion to reconsider the vote whereby the bill was passed was laid on the table.

RETURN OF SOLDIERS TO THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. GARLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for three minutes and have a resolution read in my time by the Clerk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent for three minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. GARNER. Reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania what is the nature of the resolution?

Mr. GARLAND. It is with reference to bringing the boys back home.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I am not going to object, but I want to give notice that I shall object hereafter to the reading of letters and resolutions upon this subject unless gentlemen read them in their own time.

Mr. MANN. This is a resolution by the gentleman himself.

Mr. GARNER. I am not going to object to this, but I give notice that I shall object hereafter.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman offer his resolution?

Mr. GARLAND. Yes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not do it at this time.

Mr. GARLAND. I simply want to have it read in my time.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 516.

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives of the United States that the officers and soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces who have served and who are now serving in the United States Army overseas, having performed successfully and heroically the military duties required by their presence on foreign soil, ought to be returned to their homes, and as the representatives of the American people we hereby demand their return to the United States by every transportation facility available and that can be made available for such purpose; and that it is the sense of this House that the drafted men and the men of the National Guard or State Militia ought to be discharged from the military service immediately upon their arrival in this country.

Mr. GARLAND. Mr. Speaker, I only want to add with reference to this resolution that from personal observation, having met the men over there who desire to return home, we ought to have some action taken rather than a continuance of words that we see nearly every day in the newspapers. These men are over there under conditions that are awful.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARLAND. Yes.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania know that the War Department is now availing itself of every possible method of transportation that it can toward bringing these boys home just as rapidly as it is humanly possible to do it?

Mr. GARLAND. No; I do not know that. I know that the men are over there, and outside of the casualties and some preferences for those who have positions, and a large number of the Red Cross, and so forth, that the men have no idea when they are going to get back. They are told that they will be there a year or more, in some instances, and yet they can not understand why they are kept there, where there is nothing around them but mud and rain, crosses over graves, destitution and destruction everywhere, houses shot down, little barracks that they have put up, surroundings insanitary; and these men are staying there without knowing why they are kept there. They are begging and pleading that some action be taken to bring them home. There are plenty of French and English soldiers to police, if police are necessary, but these men want to come back and do not know why they can not come back. It has got to a point where the private is charging that in his belief the officers, who are receiving big pay, are keeping them there or recommending their being kept there. That idea is prevalent nearly all over those camps, and something ought to be done to stop that feeling from growing.

It is asserted here on this floor and elsewhere that the War Department is using all possible haste to bring the troops back, and that it is using all the shipping facilities it can secure. In answer, now, let us see. In the annual report of the Secre-